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A Study of Native Leadership Based on the Literature of Liberation.

University — Université

University of Alberta

Degree for which thesis was presented — Grade pour lequel cette thèse fut présentée

M. Ed.

Year this degree conferred — Année d'obtention de ce grade

1980

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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

A STUDY OF NATIVE LEADERSHIP BASED ON THE LITERATURE OF LIBERATION

by

© STELLA JOHNSON

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

MASTER OF EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING, 1980

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "A Study of Native Leadership Based on the Literature of Liberation", submitted by Stella Johnson in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education.

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ABSTRACT

This study was designed to explore the match of perceptions of native leadership in Canada with selected theoretical concepts of leadership based on the liberation literature emerging from Third World countries.

Data were gathered and selected from four major books by native writers and from five recorded interviews. The data were documented, rank ordered and interpreted. The treatment of the data yielded an organizing concept under which all other concepts selected from the liberation literature could be sub-grouped through in interpretative process. The rank-ordering procedures were reapplied to the interpretative framework to highlight major differences in articulations between the native writers and the native respondents interviewed.

Analysis of the data revealed that all of the selected liberation concepts regarding leadership were articulated in some manner by the two groups as they perceived their experience in native leadership in Canada. The distribution of the articulations of the two groups was extremely varied. The native writers were primarily concerned with the specification of the leader's role whereas the native respondents were high articulate about the relationship between the leader and the people. The second ordering of importance for both groups dealt with the denial of the means of manipulation and prescription within the leader-people relationship. The native respondents also ordered the concepts denying the object position extremely close to the denial of the means of manipulation and prescription.

The major conclusion from the study is that the sophisticated liberation concepts selected regarding liberation leadership can be tested empirically in reality within the Canadian native milieu.

The specification made by the native writers and native respondents interviewed in this study, that the means of leadership must be non-manipulative and non-prescriptive to be liberating, has some implications for directions of research into leadership and organizationl behaviours. Research could be made into the monetary and human costs resulting to organizations and individuals in them, of manipulative and prescriptive behaviours and policies. The use of liberational concepts for studies assessing organizational renewal could provide shifts in direction for organizational thrusts if they could specify "just" behaviors for engaging influence and for governing the use of power at individual and organizational levels.

This study would indicate that there is a strong relationship between native leadership in Canada and the liberation ideals of leadership emerging from Third World Countries. Further research would have to be done to provide a systematic description of native leadership.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Sincere gratitude must be expressed to the following people:

* To the Indian people of Meander River, High Level, Assumption and Hobbema who accepted me and shared their lives with me, and to whom I dedicate this work.

* To Marjorie Moorman, my mother, who prized education and faith while she pioneered thirty years at Fairview and High Level, Alberta and passed this on with quiet wisdom.

* To Stan Shank, Doug Cardinal, Herb Belcourt, Lilian Potts and Teresa Wildcat who gave freely of their time and allowed me to tape interviews of their experience and thoughts on native leadership.

* To Yvonne Shank, Leslie Belcourt and Sam Wildcat for their hospitality and friendship.

* To Erwin Miklos, Les Gue, Ed Seger, Harry Garfinkle, Bill Maynes, and Chet Bumburger for their advice, guidance and encouragement.

* To Donna Nicol of Donnic Typing Services for her typing and editing services.

* To my husband, John, for his astute comment and encouragement through difficult times.

* To my children, John, Virginia, Ralph, Vivian, Jeannette, Margaret and Betty who accepted the sacrificies that my studies demanded.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem and its Significance

Native leadership in Canada in the past decade has received high media coverage that would indicate increasing political activism is occurring among the native peoples. A series of sit-ins, marches, deaths, conventions, meetings, preparation of endless briefs to governments, debates on television, investigations, projects started, projects aborted, projects enduring where none existed before, indicate native restlessness and protest. But there is little information, except for several major books by native leaders, about the state of native leadership in Canada.

Leadership is a central theme in the literature of organization and in the liberation literature of Third World Countries. A current and highly significant statement on leadership occurs in a doctoral thesis by Claude Deblois, 1976, titled "An Emerging Model of Organization".

Deblois makes an attempt to situate the liberation model of organization, to clarify it, and to demonstrate its relevance with regard to the ongoing theoretical discussions on modern organization. He outlines the ideal of leadership for liberation and validates the outline from writings of Paulo Freire in Pedagogy of the Oppressed, 1970, and Julius Nyerere (Deblois, 1976:99-106).

If the political activity of native organization and native leadership in Canada is a protest, it is a protest against perceived oppression.

Then native leadership in Canada could be examined in terms of the ideals of leadership for liberation.

One of the liberation leadership ideals is:

> "The role of the leader is to engage in a liberating dialogue with his people that is beneficial for both parties: on the one hand, the sophisticated knowledge of the leader is challenged and improved by the empirical knowledge of the people and the knowledge of the latter becomes more enlightened." (Freire, 1968:183).

If this is so, then by the same reasoning, the sophisticated knowledge of Deblois and the liberation writers which is now current to leadership can be challenged and improved by the empirical knowledge of the people (in this instance to native leaders in the field) with the prospect that the knowledge of the native leaders in the field may be enhanced.

The Problem and Sub-Problems

The general problem under study is the lack of information about the relationship between native leadership in Canada and the liberation leadership of Third World Countries.

Emerging from the basic problem of the study were the following sub-problems:

a) To what extent do native leaders in Canada have perceptions in common with the concepts of leadership in the liberation literature from the Third World Countries?

b) To what degree can the differences in perceptions of native leaders be ranked and interpreted within the concepts of leadership selected from the liberature literature in the Deblois study?

Significance of the Study

The study should have value as an empirical case knowledge of native leadership available to test the strength of the liberation leadership concepts selected by Deblois. The Deblois study attempts to clarify and unify the theoretical generalizations of Third World liberation literature to existing theory of organization and leadership. The bridging of literatures achieved in his study is theoretical. The study reported here could provide evidence that the previous theoretical study has a base in reality.

The study should indicate a shift in focus on the kind of problems that could be researched in leadership and institutional organization.

The study should be sufficiently open ended so that generative studies could follow from it that may be useful to the native community.

Approach to the Problem

The approach to the problem must be phenomenological because the analyses of the relationship will focus on the native leaders' consciousness of their world. Their statements about native leadership will be the result of each individual's direct ordering of his experience as he or she sees it (Husserl, 1967). The literature of phenomenology explains that central themes, features and structuring of phenomena existing in the whole of the societal groups will be reflected in each of the societal parts or sub-groups. (Straus, 1964, 1967: Curtis and Marp, 1978). By examining current statements of a small number of native persons involved in leading roles and activities, the researcher could obtain a reasonably thorough, indepth, description of the context and problems of native leadership.

ASSUMPTIONS, DELIMITATIONS AND LIMITATIONS

Assumptions

If the characteristics of the whole of native leadership is reflected in each of its sub-parts, then the first five native leaders providing access to the researcher, and the existing books by native writers on native leadership would provide sufficient data for manageable analyses.

If the characteristics of the whole of liberation leadership literature is reflected in each of its sub-parts, then the selections by Deblois, of quotations from the liberation literature relating to leadership would provide a reasonably adequate range of concepts for comparison with statements of native leaders in the study to establish if a relationship exists.

Delimitations of the Study

The study was delimited to the analysis of the content of five transcribed interviews and four major books by native writers to those articulations which reflected to some degree the 26 concepts selected by Deblois, dealing with leadership (Deblois, 1976:98-106).

Limitations of the Study

The writer has no experience in the Third World Countries. She has not been educated toward any non-Canadian political context or ideology. She is related to some native people through family marriages. She has lived with her family on two Indian reserves in Alberta for several years. She has experienced 20 years of an identical economic poverty to

that of the Assumption and Meander River reserves.

Because of her scholastic convent education and academic training in education she remains subject to the limitations of a representative of the First World attempting to grasp the view of Third World writers and that of the native people in those areas of existence she may not as yet have experienced.

The nature of comparison used in this study has some limitations of style and presentation as those contained in the Deblois study. The major limitation being the researcher's ability to select articulations with enough context to illustrate the essence of the liberation concept being expressed. The liberation concepts are limited by conceptual overlap and variation in levels of abstractness occurring in the quotations selected. Some quotations contain as many as four major ideas. Some quotations restate a central idea already selected. Some quotations reshape a central idea through additions. Other quotations are descriptive, prescriptive, formulative, summative, or conclusive.

The articulations selected from the study data are also limited by overlapping of concepts and variation in levels of abstractness. A good deal of allegorical and ironical intent occurs beneath the surface simplicity of expression. Some statements by native leaders are at once meant specifically and globally.

Thus the style and presentation of this study with these limitations must be viewed open endedly. The study is exploratory and accepts the selection of articulations at all levels of language use.

CHAPTER II

SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE

Literature on Leadership

Leadership in Organizations

Although the concept of leadership has been extensively researched and the literature comprehensively reviewed in previous studies (Deblois, 1976) the description of what leadership is can be stated in several paragraphs.

The Hawthorne studies of industrial organizations showed that two major leadership styles exist. A supportive style of leadership creates a co-operative group atmosphere and increases worker satisfaction. An authoritarian style of leadership was repeatedly associated with poor productivity and morale (Mayo, 1945; Roethlisberger, 1959). Later studies examining leadership style matched style requirements to the leadership range of situations and found that the supportive style was most effective in stable situations and the authoritarian style most efficient in unfavorable leadership situations of high environmental ambiguity and low organizational structure.

The studies that explored the relationship between personality traits and the ability to lead have produced little information specifying personal qualities of leaders or describing what the ability to lead is or does (Stogdill, 1963). When demands of the situation in which a leader leads were examined, two leadership dimensions were identified. The leadership situation may require the leader to engage in initiating structure and being task oriented, or to engage in high consideration of

human relationships within the organization and to being people's needs oriented. The demands of the situation might favor one dimension of leadership over another (Fiedler, 1967).

Some literature examines leadership as more of a function than a personality trait of a single person because leadership is to some extent distributed among the members of an organization (Barnard, 1938; Bales, 1947).

Studies indicate that the leader-member relation is the most important factor in determining the leader's influence over the group members, followed by task structure and position power (Fiedler, 1967: 32-34).

The study of leadership in the literature of organization is primarily concerned with increased efficiency and productivity (Hoy and Miskel, 1978:197-207).

The point of view of the liberation writers is somewhat different. Its main concern is the growth of man. For the liberation leader, the moral commitment to liberation is the overriding perspective or context in which the leader-member relationship operates and forms the criteria by which the leader's influence over the group members is assessed. All other goals or objectives have to be "dialectically integrated to forwarding the liberation goal" (Deblois, 1976:99).

The literature of leadership in organizations and the literature of liberation have some common bridging points. Both literatures recognize the importance of the human dimension and the necessary union between the leader and his followers.

Contribution of Liberation Literature to the Concept of Leadership

The following is a condensation of Deblois' summary of the liberation literature on leadership and his use of the concepts that this study seeks to test empirically.

The superscripts a, b, c, d, e, f, ...z refer to Deblois' selection of liberation concepts that document his summary. They are presented in full following this condensation.

"The most distinctive characteristic of a revolutionary leader is his unity with the people. His task is to realize unity among the oppressed on the one hand, and between himself and the oppressed on the other.[a]

This unity is fundamental and based on community of thought, ideas and plans as well as unity of action.[b,c] Liberation becomes a common goal and a common task.[d] Implied is a communion with the people, a sharing of goals, ideas and tasks.[e,f]

To obtain this kind of leadership, certain personality requirements exist. The communion between the leaders and the people requires a human, loving (authentic), empathic, communicative and humble approach.[g] The leader must have confidence in the capacity of the people to participate actively in their liberation. In return, he will enjoy the trust of the people. His confidence must be reflective and experiential, not naive.[h,j]

Finally, the leader must avoid certain attitudes incompatible with the process of liberation. He must not be arrogant, contemptuous, disrespectful of people and ostentatious.[i]

The populist leaders with charismatic gifts present some dangers; they seem to achieve unity with the people but only to manipulate

them more easily. Their interest in the people may be sincere, but they plan for them not with them, which still leaves the people in a position of dependence. As a perfect manipulator, the populist leader gives the illusion of acting for the people or more subtly, as if the people are acting through him. In the last analysis, the people are treated as objects, not as subjects of their own liberation; they don't participate reflectively (humanly) in the process of liberation.[k,l] As a person not committed to the liberation of the people but rather taking advantage of his charismatic gifts to achieve his own ambition, the populist leader is an ambiguous being; he is an oppressor under disguise.[m]

The role of the liberation leader involves specific functions all centered on the inescapable objective of liberation. Above all, he must gain the adherence of the people to liberation. He cannot conquer them in order to liberate them surreptitiously, although this alternative might appear attractive and most efficient at first sight.[o]

The leader must help the people to decide on the right course of action. This supposes that he understands well the demands and aspirations of the people while posing the meaning of these demands as a problem.[n] His task is not to force direction as a kind of development on the people, but to explain, to listen, to provide information, to persuade and to help the people to organize themselves.[p,q,r,s] The back and forth dialogue between the leader and the people is beneficial for both parties: on the one hand, the sophisticated knowledge of the leader is challenged and improved by the empirical knowledge of the people and the knowledge of the

latter becomes more enlightened. The contradiction between the two views are not denied; they are superseded or resolved dialectically[1] for the enrichment of both.[t,u,v]

The all-embracing function of the liberation leader is that of conscientization. Conscientization is the process of awakening critical awareness of reality. (Deblois, 1976:759). It is a social process through which the leader with the people creates the guideline of their action. It is a co-intentional (conscious) process by which the leader and the people, teacher and students, re-examine critically their reality to recreate it in a common effort.[w,x,y,z"] (Deblois, 1976:100-102).

a) In the dialogical theory the leaders must dedicate themselves to an untiring effort for unity among the oppressed and unity of the leaders with the oppressed in order to achieve liberation.

(Freire, 1968:173).

b) Revolutionary leaders cannot think without the people, nor for the people, but only with the people.

(Freire, 1968:126).

c) The revolution is made neither by the leaders for the people, nor by the people for the leaders, but both acting together in unshakable solidarity.

(Freire, 1968:124).

d) The leader's pursuit of unity is necessarily an attempt to organize the people, requiring witness to the fact that the struggle for liberation is a common task.

(Freire, 1968:176).

---

1 The researcher notes a blurred use of "dialectically" at this point. The interpretation is that dialectic and dialogic may be used interchangeably. Thus the reader may accept the usage as being the total cluster of meanings associated with both terms. "See Definition of Terms".

e) In dialogical action, at no stage can revolutionary action forego communion with the people.

(Freire, 1968:171).

f) Both cultural action and cultural revolution imply communion between the leaders and the people, as subjects who are transforming reality.

(Freire, 1968:52).

g) This function (between leaders and people through communion) can exist only if revolutionary action is really human, empathic, loving, communicative and humble in order to be liberating.

(Freire, 1968:171).

h) The trust of the people in the leaders reflects the confidence of the leaders in the people. This confidence should not, however, be naive.

(Freire, 1968:168).

i) For the Tanzanian leader, it must be forbidden to be arrogant, extravagant, contemptuous and oppressive. The Tanzanian leader has to be a person who respects people, scorns ostentation and is not a tyrant. Kiongozi wa Tanzania kuwa mwenye majivuno, ubadhirifu, dharau au uonevu. Kiongozi wa Tanzanian awe mtu anayeheshimu watu, asiwe mpenda makuu; siyo mnyapara, mkaripaji na mwanrishaji watu.

(Nyerere, 1974; Mwongozo wa Tanu:15).

j) The leaders must believe in the potentialities of the people, who they cannot treat as mere objects of their own action; they must believe that people are capable of participating in the pursuit of liberation.

(Freire, 1968:169).

k) As a form of leadership which exploits the emotions of the people, manipulation inculcates into the invaded the illusion of action or their acting within the action of the manipulators. If that manipulation encourages 'massification', it categorically contradicts the affirmation by human beings as <u>subjects</u>. Such affirmation can only occur when those who are engaged in transforming action upon reality also make their own choices and decisions.

(Freire, 1973:114).

l) Attempting to liberate the oppressed without their reflective participation in the act of liberation is to treat them as objects which must be saved from a burning building; it is to lead them into the populist pitfall and transform them into masses which can be manipulated.

(Freire, 1968:52).

m) The populist leader...is an ambiguous being, an "amphibian" who lives in two elements. Shuttling back and forth between the people and the dominant oligarchies, he bears the marks of both groups. Since the populist leader simply manipulates, instead of fighting for authentic popular organization, this type of leader serves the revolution little if at all.

(Freire, 1968:147).

n) The leader must on the one hand identify with the people's demands...while, on the other they must pose the meaning of that very demand as a problem.

(Freire, 1968:185).

o) The commitment of the revolutionary leaders to the oppressed is at the same time a commitment to freedom. And because of that commitment, the leader cannot attempt to conquer the oppressed, but must achieve their adherence to liberation.

(Freire, 1968:168).

p) The task of leadership and Government is not to try and force this kind of development, but to explain, encourage and participate.

(Nyerere, 1968:131).

q) A leader will have an opportunity to explain his ideas and to try to persuade the people that they are good; but it must be for the people themselves to accept or reject his suggestions. It does not matter if the discussion takes a long time.

(Nyerere, 1968:135).

r) Their field workers (Rural Development Leaders) should be available to help the people to organize themselves, to advise them...

(Nyerere, 1968:143).

s) Leaders cannot do anything for the people. We can only provide the necessary information, guidance and organization for the people to build their own country for themselves. Leaders have to know the reality of our present position and

then to show the people how by our own effort, we can change the present poverty into something better.

(Nyerere, 1968:151).

t) The more sophisticated knowledge of the leaders is remade in the empirical knowledge of the people while the latter is refined by the former.

(Freire, 1968:165).

u) In cultural synthesis and only in cultural synthesis - it is possible to resolve the contradiction between the world view of the leaders and that of the people, to the enrichment of both.

(Freire, 1968:183).

v) Cultural synthesis does not deny the differences between the two views; it is based on these differences. It does deny the invasion of one by the other, by affirming the undeniable support each gives to the other.

(Freire, 1968:183).

w) Instead of following pre-determined plans, leaders and people, mutually identified, create together the guideline of their action. In this synthesis leaders and people are somehow reborn in new knowledge and action.

(Freire, 1968:183).

x) If the revolutionary leaders manipulate them (people) instead of working towards their conscientization, the very objective of organization (that is, liberation) is negated.

(Freire, 1968:178).

y) In the conscientization process the educator has the right, as a person, to have options. What she/he does not have is the right to impose them. To do this is to prescribe these options for others. To prescribe is to manipulate, to manipulate is to reify and to reify is to establish a relationship of domestication.

(Freire, 1973:149).

z) A revolutionary leadership must accordingly practice co-intentional education. Teacher and students (leadership and people), co-intent on reality, are both subjects, not only in the task of unveiling that reality, and thereby coming to know it critically, but in the task of recreating that knowledge. As they attain this knowledge of reality through common

> reflection and action, they discover themselves as its permanent re-creators.
>
> (Freire, 1968:56).

The above (Deblois, 1976:102-105) is the documentation of liberation concepts relating to leadership that provide the theoretical framework for the analysis of data on native leadership for this thesis (Deblois, 1976:102-105).

Native Leadership

A major portion of the literature on native leadership in Canada is found in several recent books written by native leaders. The books are:

1975 Adams, Howard. Prison of Grass: Canada From The Native Point of View. Toronto: General Publishing Co., Chapter 14. The Failure of Native Leadership:176-187.

1973 Campbell, Maria. Halfbreed. Toronto: Seal Books, McClelland and Stewart - Bantam Limited:168-184.

1977 Cardinal, Harold. The Rebirth of Canada's Indians. Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers.

1974 Manuel, George and Michael Posluns. The Fourth World: An Indian Reality. Don Mills, Ontario: Collier-MacMillan.

The literature on native leadership directly addresses the question of liberation of native peoples from oppressive colonialism of the federal and provincial governments of Canada. Campbell warns that native organizations and native leaders are merely replacing oppressive masters. Adams criticizes native leadership behaviorally using Freire's criteria for dialogical liberation. Cardinal tells what we are doing to Indians, and explains the Indian world view. Manuel identifies with the Third World liberation movements, particularly the leadership of Julius Nyerere in Tanzania.

Campbell and Adams severely criticize native leaders and their

organizations, and make identical charges against the leaders from two different contexts. Campbell's description and conclusions are the result of her personal activism and her thinking in terms of her life experience.

Adams (1975) in Chapter 14 follows Paulo Freire's description of dialogical and antidialogical organization and leadership for liberation from oppression (Freire, P., 1970, pp. 112-166). Adams describes the behaviors and conditions of native leadership as he sees it within Freire's context and concludes that native leadership has been co-opted and comprised thoroughly. He claims that native organizations serve the oppressive masters who are the various governments that fund the political native organizations. He feels that native peoples now are no better off than they were before federal and provincial funding was allotted to their organization efforts.

Cardinal and Manuel were presidents of the two most powerful native organizations receiving federal and provincial funding. Harold Cardinal was president of the Indian Association of Alberta and George Manuel was president of the National Indian Brotherhood. Both describe native organizational experience with government funding, admit to their mistakes, describe the intrique of the circumstances, state the nature of their understandings from their experiences and affirm and share the ideological stances gained.

Cardinal's theme of rebirth through new self-knowledge and knowledge of dominant societal ways and Manuel's broad context of a Fourth World that notes major distinctions between the native people's aboriginal condition and that of Third World nations states, counter Adams' and Campbell's view that native peoples are no better off because of federal

or provincial funding.

Definition and Description of Terms

Liberation

Liberation is a term of aspiration and hope articulated by peoples who are aware of not being in charge of the decisions affecting their lives.

Liberation is a process valuing social justice and the creation of a new man (Deblois, 1976:9). This concept is also found in Reich 1964: Curtis, 1978: and Straus, 1967.

Consciousness

Consciousness is an interpretative awareness of man's mind by which one actively, intentionally, structures the meaning of what is experienced (Deblois, 1976:43).

It is a method...a way toward something apart from itself which surrounds it" and is "apprehended by thought capacity" (Freire, 1970: 56). The idea of consciousness as a method or process of structuring meaning is also found in Husserl, 1969, Straus, 1967, Osgood, 1970, and Phenix, 1964.

Dialectics

Dialectics is a school of thought found in the writings of phenomenologists, educational theorists, and Third World liberation literature of Africa and South America. Dialectics makes comment on the nature of man, man's view of relationships to others, man's ways of knowing and defining knowledge, and of man's ordering of his experience. Dialectics questions current dominantly held and hidden assumptions operating in

the processes of socializing man through language or custom and in providing institutional, stylized forms for achieving social control and maintaining it. The major postulates found in Dialectics are:

a) that knowledge is not neutral, it is perceived in a value laden context no matter how objective or scientific the research and testing means may be. Thus knowledge rather than being scientifically systematized is in reality merely culturally defined by a prevailing paradigm.

b) that there is no one unitary scientific method that has validity over others. Some writers argue that the personal structuring of experience and statement of one's relationship to the whole is as valid a contribution to knowledge of the universe as those made through cold science.

c) that the standard of certainty and exactness in the physical sciences cannot be transferred in total to the progress of knowledge in the social sciences. Different fluidity and complexity of man's social phenomena must be considered through a different lens than that of the physical sciences because of the restraints that methods impose on the interpretation of the communicative cycles of human activities (Deblois, 1976:42-49).

Revolution as Change

Revolution, as used by Freire and Deblois means a radical change in the quality of human relations and a constant process of human liberation. (Deblois, 1976:49).

Revolution in this context does not include the use of violence, nor the removal of a government, nor necessarily the collapse of an economic system. It refers to a major social change at a very fundamental level in human relationships and for examination and change in man's social institutions. Revolution in this context calls for:

- Examination of why human liberation is needed.
- Determination of who and what is being invaded.
- Specification of who and what is doing the invading.
- Specification of collective group goods.

- Willingness to face hidden assumptions about man and his motivations.
- Willingness of leadership within social groups and institutions to let go of habitual processes as client needs are no longer met.
- Clear specification of the real nature of the struggle - discarding labels, judgments, myths, stereotypes.
- Making a decision that is individual and group oriented to: counter the momentum of the perceived oppressive force.
- Engaging in transformation that re-structures reality within a humanizing (becoming) criteria of morality. (Freire, 1970:177-185).

Dialogical Movement for Liberation

Dialogical action for liberation is the central thesis of Paulo Freire. This is basically a discussion of the means to a social revolution that will last and be constant in the future. It is a moral appeal to man's humanity and concern for others. The reasoning is like this:

Premise A. Man "is".	(Man "is"; a subject statement).
Premise B. Man is here.	(subject + environment)
If A, affirm A.	(Man is, so man names himself).
If B, affirm B.	(Man sees and names his relatedness to his environment or world).

Therefore:

C Man transforms his environment.

Transformation

The Problem of Logic and Definition. In understanding the conclusion C which follows from premises A and B, the liberation literature of Freire and the clarification of this literature by Deblois faces a problem of language semantics. There is confusion as to the meaning of transformation. Transformation could mean man as subject is acting upon the environment. If so, then man's relatedness to other men who form part of his environment places them in an object position. Thus when man acts or transforms reality, others are objects to be kept in place or manipulated. Consequently, social order and control is the central relatedness of man to his environment and its sub parts (other man). This understanding of man transforming his environment is directly addressed by Freire in his criteria for anti-dialogical movement. This understanding can only end in perpetuating oppression. (Freire, 1970: 167-185).

Deblois simply doesn't clearly state what is meant by transformation (Deblois, 1976:43). But he does provide a key to sorting this problem out. He sets out three basic premises of the dialectic mode of thought:

a) "Social reality must be apprended as a totality, not as an association of parts to be analysed in isolation...". (Social reality must be viewed as a whole web of phenomena).

b) The stable appearance of a social phenomenon is but a moment in its history...can only be understood in the light of its origins and its future possibilities... (This highlights the relative nature of knowledge, interpretation and of scientific testing).

c) The change process is best understood in terms of opposite forces and contradictions. Even the thought process evolves through conceptualizations of opposite elements and perceptions of contradictions. For instance, liberation can only be fully understood in terms of its opposite, oppression... subject vs. object.... (Markovic, 1975:25 in Deblois, 1976: 41).

By applying the premise that the change process is best understood in terms of opposite forces and contradictions, it may be useful to recognize the thought patterning of noting opposites and contradictions as a process of promoting a clarity of thought about concepts that are observed but hampered by problems of articulation and language.

Thus, in understanding the concept C where man transforms his environment, the dialogical movement for liberation articulated by Freire, must reject the view that man as subject acts (transforms) upon his environment (social reality) as object.

Transformation. The definition of transformation is that man is subject with his environment which is subject also. Thus when man transforms his environment, he interacts with the total universe of physical and social subjects here with him and is transformed...changed... by the internal restructuring that orders new meaning of his interaction with the environment. Thus man evolves above his previous status (old order of structured meanings) and exists with the environment which is also with him. He survives (Freire, 1970:181-186).

Considerable importance must to be given to this definition of Freire's because of the impact the rejected definition (p. 19) has had

on modern man. The concept of man acting upon the universe where the universe becomes an object is that of transforming that which is outside, external, to man. This rejected concept of transformation is the central biblical thesis of Genesis "and he gave man dominion over them." It is central to Western Industrial thought and organization and to "The Protestant Ethic" (Weber, 1938). The Indo-European stock of languages, which includes English, are structured about this view of man. English has a large classification system of nouns (labels) and pronouns that focus thought structuring in terms of subject "I" versus object "me" and "you" who are different from me (object). "You" are always an object and have no subjective claim even as a "he", "she", or "it". He, she, it are descriptive from the central observation point "I". The notion that verbs of English are transitive and intransitive, is the major English language recognition that action-interaction may or may not require an object to be acted upon. Unfortunately our language lacks a great deal of precision in specifying clearly the exact nature of our relationships <u>with</u> others. The main cry of women for liberation and of other oppressed peoples, is an objection to being an object - to being acted upon - to be used. This cry, if it doesn't teach "them" how to treat "us", becomes an appeal to a belief in the morality of man rather than becoming a declaration of intent to act.

In summary, one could say the ideas of: transformation, change, social revolution, praxis, epiphany (James Joyce), emotional displacement (Carl Jung), and liberation, call attention to a painful human condition that objects to being an object acted upon by others when the language of man is barely able to articulate from what it is one needs liberation. This cultural view of man as an object is so diffused and

pervasive that a movement calling for an internal individual and group restructuring of the order of meaning that gives us responsibility for ourselves and that requires examining and letting go of stylized ways must necessarily be a dialogue, on-going, constant (Freire, 1970: 180). The transformation of the world man exists in is achieved through an authentic dialogue between man and his world as man claims his existence and names his relatedness as subject existing relatedly to others and committed to this existence with them.

Praxis

The word "praxis" is used to define the transformation - change - revolution occurring in a man as he defines and redefines hismelf through his world, his relatedness to the world co-existing as subjects with him. (Freire, 1970:76).

Dialogue

Dialogue is the encounter between men, mediated by the world (environment, universe) in order to name the world. (Freire, 1970:76).

Conditions for Dialogue

a) each man's right to his world must be claimed by him and re-claimed by him.

b) naming oneself and one's relatedness is the way men achieve significance as men.

c) dialogue is a creative act, a creation of an encounter with other men, and is not a situation where some men name on behalf of others. The attitude of dialogue is one of love. Love is an act of courage, free of fear, and a commitment to

existence and mutual co-existence.

d) dialogue requires humility, the capacity of one naming oneself accurately, claiming all that one is.

e) dialogue requires faith and hope in man that is also critical and able to deal with alienation and so tends to be re-born. Dialogue then leads to movement that transforms the human condition. (Freire, 1970:76-81).

Organization of the Remainder of the Thesis

The following chapter deals with research methodology for this study. It describes the selection of the interview respondents, the collection of data, the privacy of the respondents, the involvement of the respondents in leadership, the selection of the data. Chapter IV presents the data under Section A: The Native Writers and Section B: The Native Respondents interviewed.

Chapter V contains procedures for the analysis of the data presented in Chapter IV with the findings noted.

Chapter V presents the analyses, findings, and the researcher interpretation and implications drawn from them. This is followed by an initial interpretative contrast and synthesis and analysis. Then the interpretative contrast and synthesis is completed and an empirical organization of liberation concepts is presented. An additional rank ordering valuation is applied to the re-grouping of articulations to the organizing concept.

Chapter VI consists of a summary, conclusions and implications.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This chapter will describe the use of the theoretical liberation leadership concepts to organize the selected articulations from the native writings and the interviewed native respondents. The initial section describes the procedures for the selection of the interview respondents and the collection of the interview data. A comment is made on the privacy of the respondents and a listing of the involvement of the respondents is provided. The final section describes the selection of data and the methods used to organize and analyse the information.

Selection of Interview Respondents

The researcher made an initial list of 16 native leaders, currently or in the recent past, involved in:

a) executive positions of provincial and national native organizations.

b) senior civil service positions.

c) native women's organizations.

d) local band or reserve chiefs and councillors.

e) local reserve school committees.

f) management of native corporations and small businesses.

The native leaders listed were known to the researcher through direct acquaintance, or through long term readership of "The Native People", a weekly newspaper publication of the Alberta Native Communications Society.

Telephone appointments requesting a recorded interview on their perceptions of native leadership for thesis purposes were made to three respondents and direct contact requesting a recorded interview was made with two respondents. Appointments with other leaders were not readily available because of high activity of native organizations during the months of September and October 1979.

No attempt was made at representativeness of selection of respondents. The factors of accessiblity and long-term involvement in native politics at one level or more, exceeding a ten year period of time, were the criteria by which they were selected for this study.

Collection of Data

Interviews were recorded during the period September 8 to 18th, 1979.

Two dubs of each cassette-tape were made. One set was used with a transcriber to type the interview content for presentation in this thesis as Appendices. The purpose in presenting the total content of the interviews was to retain the original content of the native leadership statements for educational and cross-cultural study and future research.

The second set of cassette-tapes will be part of an instructional package on native Leadership and that will return the data, so freely given to the researcher for this study, back to the respondents Teresa Wildcat and Lillian Potts for their own purposes at Hobbema, Alberta.

Privacy of the Respondents

The five native persons interviewed understand that their talks will be recorded as given in print for a case study thesis and analysis for educational purposes and cross-cultural understanding only. They understand that their statements will be under their names but that they will not be quoted out of thematic context of the total framework of their statements as given in the whole interview.

They will not tolerate having their words twisted for narrow cynical purposes but will allow the use of their statements as a case study of original information for examination to promote critical thought and cross-cultural understanding.

Involvement of the Respondents

Stan Shank: Metis; civil servant; B.A. in Sociology, University of Alberta, 1971. Areas of involvement include:

a) Program Development Officer, Department of Justice, Government of Canada, Edmonton.

b) Field Liaison and Development Officer, Department of the Secretary of State, Regina, Saskatchewan.

c) Department of Secretary of State, Edmonton.

d) Counsellor, Department of The Attorney General of Alberta, Belmont Rehabilitation Centre.

e) Education Director, Metis Association of Alberta.

f) Child care worker with apprehended youth.

g) Public Education Consultant, Department of Health, Division of Alcoholism, Province of Alberta.

h) Continuing interest in Canadian Native Friendship Centres - Executive Director, 1964-66, acted as court worker, counsellor, community development, public relations.

At one time Chairman of Native Federation, and Interim Committee Chairman of Indian-Eskimo Association.

Herb Belcourt: Metis; businessman; self-educated. Areas of involvement include:

a) President of Belcourt Construction Ltd. (Power and telephone lines) and several other small businesses.

b) M.P. candidate in several Federal elections.

c) Participated in Fact-Finding Tours - Provincial and Federal Levels.

d) Served many years as President of Cannative Housing Corporation. Has thorough knowledge of housing politics.

e) Involved in elections and committees of the Metis Association of Alberta.

f) Was on the Executive of The Alberta Ballet Company.

g) On fund raising committees of Theatre 3.

Doug Cardinal: Metis; Architect and businessman; educated at the University of Texas, 1963. Areas of involvement include:

a) Design of several major Edmonton buildings.

b) Designed models of Indian Association of Alberta's proposed Indian Education Centre.

c) Has developed a unique wood-mortar block house design for use in Northern Alberta Reserve housing.

d) Has developed 5 - Total Reserve, Social and Economic Resource Development Plans for native communities, i.e. Saddle Lake and currently working on a Cold Lake total plan.

e) Intimate with Indian elders to get to the core of his culture.

Lilian Potts: Treaty Indian; Administrator; High school education and year at University of Lethbridge; studied sociology. Areas of involvement include:

a) Elected Chief of the Montana Band at age 38 and worked on 4-Band Council at Hobbema, Alberta.

b) Teacher at the Ermineskin School, Hobbema, Alberta.

c) Student counsellor.

d) Social worker with Provincial Health Services for the 4-Bands.

e) Executive-Director of Alcholism and Drug Abuse Centre at Hobbema for ADDAC Commission.

f) Close to Indian elders.

Teresa Wildcat: Treaty Indian; Councillor; high school education; one year of teaching training, University of Alberta; one year of teacher training, University of Calgary through Muskwakees Cultural College, Hobbema, Alberta. Areas of involvement include:

a) Years of service as a Band Councillor.

b) Served as Chairman of School Committee on 4-Band Council.

c) Past editor of Native Voice - 4-Band weekly paper, served on Advisory Board to the paper under other editors.

d) Appointed to the Senate of the University of Alberta. Served on the Senate Task Force on Native Student's during this term.

e) Presently on an Advisory Committee to Jim Horsman, Minister of Advanced Education, Province of Alberta.

f) Laid groundwork for University of Alberta Summer Schools in Intercultural Education on the Reserve 1968-74 and the evolution of the Muskwakees Cultural College.

g) Serves on Parish Council that celebrates 25 years since building of the Teepee Church on the Reserve.

h) Involved in Wetaskiwin and Ponoka community groups.

i) Member of Indian Association of Alberta.

j) Close to Indian elders.

Selection of Data

Native Writers

After the survey of the literature on native leadership, the four books reviewed in Chapter I of this study were scanned page by page for

writer articulations that appeared to be related to the 26 liberation concepts presented as evidence by Deblois (Deblois, 1976:102-106). Articulations were recorded on cards. The concept quotations from Deblois were recorded on cards. When the scanning and selection of quotes for each book was completed a two day distance period was allowed. Then the researcher did a floor sort of the writer cards to the concept cards. When highly visible overlaps occurred the writer articulations were allotted to each of the concepts appropriate. Writer articulations that were irrelevant to the concept cards were discarded and not included. The concept cards had only alphabetical order. As far as possible the floor sort was subject to no researcher shaping of the number of quotes, if any, that a concept received. This floor sort is presented in its original form as Presentation A in Chapter IV. The researcher is aware that errors in judgment may be apparent but has chosen to accept this weakness rather than to have been guilty of deliberately shaping the content to fit the concept quotations. Shaping or bias would have been increased if several floor sorts had been done or if extended reading of liberation literature had be done prior to the sort.

Native Respondents

The method and considerations outlined above for selection of data of the native writers was the same in every detail for the selection of data of the native respondents in the recorded interviews. This floor sort is presented in its original form as Presentation B in Chapter IV.

Analyses

The study was phenomenological and exploratory. There were only nine data sources used. There were two groups studied, native writers and native interview respondents. Statistical procedures of analyses would not apply because of the nature of this study and of the sample.

At this point of exploration of the relationship between native leadership and the Third World liberation literature, only limited ranking procedures were suitable. When limitations were reached, alternative interpretation procedures were used and where suitable the ranking procedures were re-applied. An inverse valuation system of numerals was used to control for variations in the number of articulations to the number of respondents making them. For example a system of valuation was indicated to facilitate rank ordering of data when four articulations by four respondents were ordered to five articulations by three respondents. The result was that the researcher applied the simplest and most logical system indicated.

The nature of the sample and the data in this study did not indicate the usefulness of further descriptive procedures. However because the procedures used yielded more information than could be meaningful it will be possible in future studies to apply the full range of non-parametric procedures. For this reason all work sheets used in this study are included with the tables (Siegel, 1956).

The data for this study was selected from two sources, the four major books by native writers listed in the Survey of Literature under the section "Native Leadership", and the five transcribed interviews obtained from native leaders in Alberta.

CHAPTER IV

PRESENTATION OF DATA

The following format groups the articulations about native leadership and organization from the literature on native leadership that appear related to the liberation concepts selected by Claude Deblois on leadership from the liberation literature. (Deblois, 1976:102-106).

The purpose of this analysis is to demonstrate the distribution and frequency of the liberation concepts that may be articulated in the reflective reality (the writings) of native leadership as experienced by the major leaders and native writers.

Presentation A - Native Writers

a) "In the dialogical theory that leaders must dedicate themselves to an untiring effort for unity among the oppressed and unity of the leaders with the oppressed in order to achieve liberation." (Freire, 1968:173).

Manuel, G:

"We also talked about the ethical aspects of leadership...it is the people who make or break a leader. If he is giving voice to their souls they endow him with that status; if he fails to speak their minds he is forced out; if he encircles the people with confused zeal by running after every concern but their own, he may be tolerated, but never respected or admired." (p. 142).

Cardinal, H:

"A tribal definition of the role of an Indian organization, or of an Indian local government structure, uses as its model the well-functioning extended family unit. For the purposes of this book, we can say that a well-functioning family unit, by careful planning and consideration, ensures action that hopefully will bring the most satisfaction to each of its members...the family's long-term survival must not be sac-

rificed to short-term advantages." (p. 20).

Manuel, G:

"Many Indian leaders who had been as quick to criticize their colleagues as the government, and who had been tempted to spend too much time fighting organizations that competed with their own, began to put their organizations on a war footing. Small differences were overcome in the face of a threatened major aggression from outside. In the long run this will serve a useful purpose....Many of the legitimate differences will be resolved as we work together. Those which cannot be resolved will be the valid distinctions between one Indian nation and another." (p. 179).

b) "Revolutionary leaders cannot think without the people, nor for the people, but only with the people." (Freire, 1968:126).

Adams, H:

"The Indians and Metis of Canada...face discrimination, economic oppression and political powerlessness...colonized natives...[In 1966] I realized that there was an awakening among the Indians and Metis....They were aware of their oppression and of the critical racial problems in their communities. They were anxious to discuss this problems...had a sense of pride in their recent struggles against white colonizers...these feelings are representative..." (p. 177).

When cultural action, as a mass process, begins in a community from the bottom upward and not among its leaders, the former leaders go along agreeably...or they are replaced by new leaders who emerge from the rank and file. The result is a new social consciousness of the total community." (p. 179).

"If native leaders use revolutionary rhetoric about national liberation...they do it in safe places like university auditoriums...luxurious hotels. Their rhetoric is never spoken to the restless and oppressed Indians and Metis who are serious about social action. It is only a matter of time before Indians and Metis will re-structure themselves on a firm political basis for a new movement. There is a growth of political awareness....However native organizations fail to provide any proper political direction for the people." (p. 184).

Manuel, G:

"You've got to get involved in something that is of interest to the people." (p. 141).

"Abraham Joe got up...and walked to the edge of the platform in his new suit. 'You've heard what the regional director

said. We're not going to get one house. He called us lazy. I want to know what you have to say.' ...the silence that came back to his demand.... 'I know what you're thinking ...We're going to march!'...he had spoken from his own gut and a thousand other souls rose up to join him." (p. 146).

(See Item v, Manuel, G. (p. 121)).

c) "The Revolution is made neither by the leaders for the people, nor by the people for the leaders, but both acting together in unshakeable solidarity." (Freire, 1968:124).

Cardinal, H:

"We must examine what kind of country we really want to build...for all Canadians...for all generations...whether we are talking about individuals in that larger society or in collective terms about the Indian entity, the Indian nation, or about the white entity, the white nation." (p. 8).

Manuel, G:

"I had tripped across a lesson....Leaders who call their people apathetic because there is too little response to their leadership are likely pointing in the wrong direction. Since that day (a meeting concerning the health of native children) I have never met people who are apathetic in their response to a leader who speaks about a matter of real concern and in a language that they can understand...it was a commitment born of fury at injustice." (Manuel claimed his right as a spokesman and the assent of the chiefs to his claim followed his action as an individual. The issue was a moral one). (pp. 108-111).

"We cannot recall to life the great political leaders whose names are commonplace in their own villages without first recalling that the greatness came from the people whom they led. There were many little housewives and ordinary workmen,...who carried on the struggle in the way they led their own lives and in the material and spiritual support they lent to make their spokesmen strong." (p. 70).

d) "The leader's pursuit to unity is necessarily an attempt to organize the people, requiring witness to the fact that the struggle for liberation is a common task." (Freire, 1968:176).

Manuel, G:

"(Aboriginal Native Rights Committee)...the constitution clearly spelled out our aspirations for a national and international body that would unite Indian people in every corner of the continent...we still had before us the task of meeting with every Indian band we could reach in the interior (B.C.)." (p. 121).

"The new generation of leadership that was born for the interior tribes in 1958 with the founding of the Aboriginal Rights Committee was paralleled by the rebirth and rapid growth of regional and provincial organizations, and traditional Indian bodies in other parts of the country.

A new generation of young people was also coming of age... whose energies had not been sapped by disease, depression and political disabilities." (p. 126).

"I did not really appreciate the identification between our (Indian) situation and that of the Third World peoples...until I went to Tanzania....Political independence...was only the beginning of the struggle for economic and social self-sufficiency....And Julius Nyerere finds a way of reminding his audience of this every time he speaks." (p. 244).

"An awareness of another common bond has also been growing among the colonized peoples of the world. Whenever a tribal people have come under the domination of a European power there has been the common experience of colonialism....

Were there not already a common understanding of the universe shared by many, if not all, of these people before the coming of the Europeans, the mere fact that we had all had a period of foreign domination would not be an enduring link. The bond of colonialism we share with the Third World peoples is the shared values that distinguishes the Aboriginal world from the nation-states of the Third World." (p. 5).

Cardinal, H:

"Only with a thorough knowledge of the background and opposing ideologies of each side could one hope to understand what the shouting is all about." (p. 8).

"There is also a parallel between the Indian nations and their hopes and aspirations, and the liberation movements in Third World countries. There remains one fundamental difference - the liberation, the rebirth of the Indian people is not going to be achieved at the end of a gun barrel, but in their ability to maintain their laws and their relationship with their creator." (p. 221).

Adams, H:

"It is time that we recognized our own power and faced the fact that our solutions lie within ourselves." (p. 216).

"This analysis takes into account the fact that it is not only the native society that is colonized, but Canada and all of its citizens....Like Indians and Metis, white Canadians must acknowledge their colonized situations and then direct their

national liberation movement from that point." (p. 205).

"One of the greatest tasks is to organize around local grievance in order to improve the people's circumstances and educate them politically at the same time....These local councils must make it possible for the greatest number of people to unite and take an active part: they will come into existence only when the local people themselves decide on such action....By their involvement, the masses of people will become politicized and the first steps towards liberation comes through this type of local organization and action. All struggles must be about specific local issues that people feel are significant to them....We have to learn for ourselves through experience rather than being dependent on the teaching and information of so-called specialists and experts." (pp. 211-212).

Campbell, M:

"I go out and discover for myself the need for leadership and change: if our way of life were to improve I would have to find other people like myself, and together try to find an alternative...if I was ever to become strong inside, I would have to face reality...." (pp. 166-167).

"I was trying to establish a half-way house where girls could come when they were in trouble. I explained that I didn't believe I could help anyone solve their personal problems but if I gave them a home and friendship, then they would in turn find their own answers." (p. 175).

(Cheechum's reply to Maria). "Each of us has to find himself in his own way and no one can do it for us. If we try to do more we only take away the very thing that makes us a living soul. The blanket only destroys, it doesn't give warmth." (p. 175).

[This statement relates to the theme of dependance which groups and institutions place on their members to keep the group viable. Cheechum's attitude reflects an anthesis to the idea most Canadians hold of government services being for the good of the group over the good of the individual. The grandmother, Maria Campbell refers to, gives articulation to her attitude that the price of surrender of individual will and integrity is too high for a person to turn it over to any primary or secondary social group. This reflects the native philosophy of non-interference and that while liberation is a common struggle it is also an individual decision. This is what is given witness to by native leadership].

"I realize that an armed revolution of native people will never come about: even if such a thing were possible, what would we achieve? We would only end up oppressing someone

else....One day, very soon, people (native and white) will set aside their differences and come together as one...not because we love one another...but because we will need each other to survive...change will come because this time we won't give up." (p. 184).

e) "In dialogical action, at no stage can revolutionary action forego communion with the people." (Freire, 1968:171).

Cardinal, H:

"In Canada there is no universally accepted definition of the concept of Canadianism. There is no easy, sure national identity for Canada or for Canadians...unless we reach a common agreement on the meaning of that term, we must always define the concept as we understand it, so that others will know what we mean when we discuss Canadianism." (p. 9).

Manuel, G:

"The difference is that the structure of organization and the style of leadership (of the Indian people) did not set up a conflict between the individual's unique personality and the community's need for co-operation." (p. 236).

f) "Both cultural action and cultural revolution imply communion between leaders and the people, as subjects who are transforming reality." (Freire, 1968:52).

Campbell, M:

Cheechum - "Each of us has to find himself in his own way and no one can do it for us." (p. 175).

Cardinal, H:

"It is necessary for Indian people to really look at what they are talking about; to understand the full meaning of their terms when they are defining themselves to each other or to members of the larger society." (p. 9).

[Cardinal addresses the issue of I am Cree versus I am a "Nee-yow". Cree is a label imposed reducing the person to an object versus nee yow which is a description of being in which a person claims him/her self as a subject and states his/her relatedness to others.]

"They are saying, 'We are members of that nation of people who are part of the four seasons of Mother Earth.'....
They are saying, 'We are part of this land, and because we are part of this land we are also part, of our Father's creation and hence his children'....A Nee-yow...is describing precisely what being a Canadian is all about to him or her." (p. 10).

"Thus when a Cree-speaking persons say "Nee-yow", he is saying 'I am born into that tribe which will look to this land as its patron, or as its guardian and guide through life.' It's a religious - cultural definition of being a Canadian ...part of our communal problem is that there have never been any precise translation between the Indian and white languages." (p. 11).

Manuel, G:

"Until his last days my grandfather refused to contest the priest for power. 'That's not the way you win the people,' he used to tell me. 'First you learn to live with yourself. The people will see your strength and come to you when they need it. It's you...you have to work within life...You have to learn to live with yourself whatever you do.'" (p. 63).

(Manuel relates the story of Alix Thomas who with one simple direct action reversed the cycle of colonialism that was played out on the farm school.) "He was a simple honest man capable of an honest direct gut-level reaction. He did not need elaborate words or profound thoughts to distinguish work horses from chidren." (p. 71).

"The internal traditions of every tribe has always required the direct involvement of the people. The chief was there to speak the mind of the people but not to be the mind....His authority was limited to speaking the people's mind." (p. 122).

g) "This function (between leaders and people through communion) can exist only if revolutionary action is really human, empathetic loving, communicative and humble in order to be liberating. (Freire, 1968:171).

h) "The trust of the people in the leaders reflects the confidence of the leaders in the people. This confidence should not, however, be naive." (Freire, 1968:169).

Manuel, G:

"The thing you have to ask youself is who put you there?... Pick a small crew of people you can trust to share your ideas with at first. Start planning with them...the only thing you must never do is hesitate." (p. 143).

"The Sir John A. MacDonald administration negotiated most of the treaties in Canada - treaties the Indian leaders signed because their people had not enough food to see their way through the next winter. The treaties were not enforceable in law in the first place. A queen's representative as head of state at a provincial level could claim to speak for the

Queen. Once signed, all the clauses of surrender were taken as valid, but no court in Canada had the power to oblige the government to fulfil its obligations.

The Lieutenant-Governor could not bind Parliament to spend money, nor could he exempt people from paying taxes that Parliament levied.

The Indian Act, on the other hand, was passed into law by Parliament without any reference to the realities of Indian life as Indian spokesmen might have explained them." (p. 21).

Cardinal, H:

"To put it bluntly, the Indian people are still in one hell of a mess....We're in a hell of a mess because we allowed ourselves to get into a hell of a mess...if the chief and the council are no good...we should blame ourselves. We put them there and we keep them there. If our organizations are not responsive...if our leaders are not doing their job, it is up to us an individuals to do something about it. All of (the native organizations and leaders) have been undergoing a deep questioning process. They have been concerned with two problems; the need to ensure independent funding and the need for a provincial body (whose orientation is toward the local reserve community)....If a strong local organization is good enough, then what becomes of the provincial bodies? (Indian Association of Alberta)...My central assumption is there is a need for such an element...and part of our job is to get across to the people what our functions are, and what purposes we fill." (pp. 213-214).

"The Indian people asked for control of Indian education to enable themselves to develop a programme that would meet their needs....What we wound up with...are very narrow rigid agreements that allow Indian bands to run education programmes for the Department of Indian Affairs - their programmes are not ours; run their way, not ours." (p. 87).

"One of the problems with Indian organizations today is that they have been channeled into a harmful, improper concept, based on an <u>adversary</u> philosophy of how they should work.... Perhaps this is one of the reasons for the political weakness of Indian organizations across the country." (p. 20) "...(The response of Indian people to them has been) if that (conflict) is how you define the work of your organization then it is a wrong organization...as a result you will never be able to advance the cause of our people." (p. 19).

"The (tribal) definition is inherently different from the current nature of Indian organizations and to a degree it redefines the responsibilities of the leaders and members of those organizations." (p. 11). (See Item a).

i) "For the Tanzanian Leader, it must be forbidden to be arrogant, extravagant, contemptuous, and oppressive. The Tanzanian leader has to be a person who respects people, scorns ostentation and is not a tyrant." (Nyerere, 1974; Mwongozo wa Tanu:15).

Manuel, G:

"I did not appreciate the identification between our situation until I want to Tanzania...Julius Nyerere...does not speak in a way that perpetuates violence, incites hatred, or projects the temporary failings of a new...nation on some minority group...to make a...scapegoat." (p. 244).

"If what is meant is that we must speak with care and precision, giving fair and just replies, and not inciting against others the racial hatred that they have brought against us, I agree." (p. 261).

"He (the Japanese leader) just spoke and acted with humility. That is the alternative to arrogance....The way to change the historical reality is by acknowledging it as our common heritage...." (p. 262).

j) "The leaders must believe in the potentialities of the people, whom they cannot treat as mere objects of their own action: they must believe that the people are capable of participating in the pursuit of liberation." (Freire, 1968:169).

Manuel, G:

"New leaders were emerging at this time, men who had grown up during the years of this struggle, and who had seen the shortcomings and pitfalls of local and divided actions based on piece-meal petition about individual grievances. They made themselves masters both of our way of knowing the world, and of European ways....Andy Paull...for thirty years...colorful ...able. The larger political goals were never far from his mind, but organizing efforts reached into every aspect of Indian community life....All the money Andy Paull ever spent in his organizing work was Indian money. Wherever he went the blanket or hat was passed to keep Andy travelling and working ....The belief in sharing and giving and mutual support could be moved in many directions." (pp. 84-85).

Campbell, M:

"I met the people that would play an important role in the Native movement in Alberta. One of these people...I admired him because he was the first Indian I had ever met who let white people know how he felt about them, not just by his attitude, but verbally...he said all those things I had kept bottled up inside for so many years....When, following his example, I too began to speak out, his attitude towards me

changed....I've met many Native leaders who have treated me the same and I've learned to accept it. I realize now that the system that fucked me up fucked up our men even worse: (The beliefs and myths about women)...are still holding back the progress of our people today." (p. 168).

k) "As a form of leadership which exploits the emotions of the people, manipulation inculcates into the invaded the illusion of action or their acting within the action of the manipulators. If that manipulation encourages 'massification'; it categorically contradicts the affirmation by human beings as subjects. Such affirmation can only occur when those who are engaged in transforming action upon reality also make their own choices and decisions." (Freire, 1973: 114).

Manuel, G:

"(The administration of William MacKenzie) created the first Indian Act of that name and...so changed the legislation recognizing Indians and their lands, from being protective to restrictive. The definition of who was an Indian was narrowed for the first time." (pp. 21-22).

"MacKenzie prohibited Indians from acquiring a homestead without withdrawing from his treaty in the way MacDonald had already provided. MacDonald returned to power and the Indian Act achieved its clearest statement of intent when it defined a person as 'any individual other than an Indian.' (p. 22). This effectively declared Indians to be non-persons and they were treated as such. The land hold out for giving up treaty rights had the effect of shifting the land out from under the Indian people when in fact they were still on it. The physical fact remained but the psychological relationship had no physical base for Indian peoples." (p. 31).

"The distinction between the Third World and the Aboriginal World is at present political, but will eventually be seen as religious and economic. The Third World is emerging...because it is rapidly learning to adapt its life-style to Western Technology: it reacts to Western political concepts; and it uses racial issues to pivot its expanding influence between the super powers, gathering concessions from both sides while struggling to imitate them." (p. 5).

"The Aboriginal World has so far lacked the political muscle to emerge; it is without economic power; it rejects Western political techniques, it is unable to comprehend Western Technology unless it can be used to extend and enhance traditional life forms; and it finds its strength above and beyond Western ideas of historical process." (p. 6).

(See Item a (p. 20) and Item d, Cardinal, H. (p. 221)).

Campbell, M: (on Community Development).

I didn't see how a government organization headed by a middle-class white man could do anything for Indian people and was even more disillusioned to learn that Native people would be on the staff. To me it was Saskatchewan, the CCF party and its projects all over again. Whenever they hired Natives to work with Native people, it ended in disaster, with our people being hurt...divided and fought each other once their leaders had been hired by the government." (p. 178).

"Marie...announced that she had jobs for both us us...Premier Manning was paying good wages for a research project in the poverty areas of Alberta...to Saddle Lake...that kind of wage with no experience....My first impression of Saddle Lake was that of rich farm land, and if the government considered this a poverty area, what did they call the really poor areas in Alberta?....After about a week...I was feeling like some sort of messiah; these poor people's future rested on the results of our work....I could leave...keep her friendship, or shut up and finish the work. I decided to shut up, but I will be very honest about my motive, as I've seen the same thing destroy so many good people...I had never felt so important, and I liked the feeling...I was on the biggest ego and power trip any human being could be on....That was my first experience as a scab...I look back on this...with bitterness. Marie and I had been manipulated and divided just as my father and those leaders from my childhood had been...done in a more sophisticated way, the end result the same...today when we should be working together, our feelings keep us apart." (p. 180).

1) "Attempting to liberate the oppressed without their reflective participation in the act of liberation is to treat them as objects to be saved from a burning building; it is to lead them into the populist pitfall and transform them into masses which can be manipulated." (Freire, 1968:52).

Adams, H:

"Governments fully comprehend the political principles that operate behind massive grants to native organizations." (p. 186).

Campbell, M:

"My Cheechum used to tell me that when the government gives you something, they take all that you have in return - your pride, your dignity, all the things that made you a living soul. When they are sure they have everything, they give you a blanket to cover your shame. She said that the churches, with their talk of God, the Devil, heaven and hell, and schools that taught children to be ashamed, were all a part of

that government....If they come out from under their blankets, they have to face reality...." (p. 159).

Adams, H:

"It is in the interest of the colonizer to continuously weaken the oppressed, to isolate them, to create and deepen rifts among them. (The means)...from repressive methods of police action to forms of cultural imperialism and community action programs. The colonizer manipulates the people by giving them the impression they are being helped...." (p. 178).

Cardinal, H:

In the last ten years the highly visible Indian organizations have been handicapped by the fact they were set up, based on the same principles of the white's man's organizations to operate in an adversary context. They operate effectively by this system of conflict. This thinking is against the Indian cultural view of being in a balance with everyone else. (Paraphrase of p. 18-19).

"If we examine the functions of Indian organizations they have 'increasingly become the principal interpreters of Indian thinking, Indian purposes, and Indian aspirations to the white society: as well as teaching the workings of that larger society to Indians: it becomes....important...to understand what the role and definition of such organizations should be.' This will 'differ....from what many Indians and certainly most whites, understand as the purpose of any organization. Because so few people on either the Indian or the white side really understood the basis of the relationships between the two societies, or the differences in cultural definitions and perspectives, we face another danger.

This is the intrusion into the battle ground of people who mistakenly identify and confuse their own ideological beliefs with Indian problems and grievances....A left wing element in this country, not really understanding what the Indian nations are all about, nevertheless has seized upon the opportunity to polarize the Indian people by promotion of their kind of thinking and action around different ideologies with which perhaps they have no legitimate reason to be involved. I very much fear that Indians, as did whites before them, will get sucked unwittingly into a purely political battle of ideologies which can do them no good and more likely will harm them and their cause." (p. 14).

[Cardinal names the Maoists and other leftist groups as well as academic instrusions from Toronto in the political activities of N.W.T. Dene Declarations.]

m) "The populist leader....is an ambiguous being, an 'amphibian' who lives in two elements. Shuttling back and forth between the people and the dominant oligarchies, he bears the marks of both groups. Since the populist leader simply manipulates instead of fighting for authentic popular organization, this type of leader serves the revolution little if at all. (Freire, 1968:147).

Cardinal, H:

(Bureaucratic and adversarial Indian organizations do not get solid support of the people because part of their response to leaders) "If you are involved in that work (making conflict) then you are involved in doing something wrong, and as a result, you will never be able to advance the cause of our people...The cause of the Indian peoples is simply survival. Perhaps this is one of the reasons for the political weakness... across the country." (pp. 19-20).

Adams, H:

"One of the characteristics of oppressive cultural action...is the emphasis on a local view of problems rather than seeing them as parts of a larger whole...the more a region or area is broken down into local projects, the more alienation and powerlessness is intensified...to keep them divided...The same with leadership training courses, which in reality co-opt the leaders, isolating them from the masses." (p. 178).

"Since most organizations have no training programs, new employees are simply put on the payroll and told to 'go out and do your thing'....The new status immediately isolates the worker from the masses of native people....Without a personnel policy, much of the hiring is done through patronage or through hiring threatening critics. Since voting is done through voting delegates, the employees use their influence....The colonized have changed only from white bureaucrat to the red bureaucrat." (p. 185).

"Some native leaders get to the top through compromising their position. The right person receives a lot of promotion and publicity in the news media....These leaders are supported by government on the basis of their rhetoric and public image, not on the basis of their support from the native people... they victimize many native followers who are desperately seeking serious improvements....They are far removed from the actual circumstances of the masses of native people who live in poverty and wretchedness." (p. 183).

"The two national organizations - The National Indian Brotherhood and the Native Council of Canada - are typical middle-class bureaucracies that are not at all representative of the native masses....The chief concern is to communicate with the federal or provincial cabinets and exert pressure on govern-

ment policy-makers, because they operate on the assumption that the government is going to solve all the problems of Indian and Metis people....Our real struggle is in the streets and in the native ghettos, fighting with our people against colonialism not seeking prestigious but powerless positions." (pp. 181-182).

Campbell, M:

"Smokey said, 'The important thing now is getting enough money squeezed out of Welfare to buy flour, lard, tea and wine - food for the kids, and wine for us to forget we exist....his blonde-haired wives came out and listened to him say to me, 'Hell, some of us are lucky enough to have a white woman to make us feel we've moved up'...the following winter...Smokey had shot the two white women and then killed himself...." (p. 174).

"...I had asked Stan Daniels to come and help me finish off a research project in the sugar-beet fields of southern Alberta ....A report was made but very little was ever said about it in public. It was too ugly - When we got back, Stan became very involved with the proposed Alberta Native Federation, thinking...he would be able to see justice done. I went to many of their meetings, but my concerns for native people in the city did not fit in with their immediate plans, and... women are not encouraged to attend unless a secretary was needed." (pp. 180-182).

n) "The leader must on the one hand identify with the people's demands ...while, on the other they must pose the meaning of that demand as a problem." (Freire, 1968:185).

Cardinal, H:

"The basic emphasis of Indian organizations over the past few years has, of necessity, been almost completely upon the education of their members as to the characteristics and operations of the larger society. While we have been involved in this task...our real leaders, our elder politicans...saw the need for changes. Such leaders have worked tirelessly just to gain for themselves an understanding of Indian difficulties with the white society and its laws." (p. 95).

Manuel, G:

"The major problem to understanding the Indian reality is the mythical structure of European thinking about Indians. The belief that an Indian way of life is barbaric, savage, frozen in time, incapable of meeting the test of changing social conditions brought about by new technology. This myth was created by confusing the particular forms in use at one time with the values and beliefs they helped to realize. 'A man

wedded to the soil is not necessarily married to a wooden plough, a man of letters is not committed to a fountain pen or a microphone.'" (p. 3).

"It is this ability to act on your own problems that is the goal of community development. It is also a dictionary definition of power." (p. 148).

"There will be no significant change in the condition of unilateral dependence (until) more Indian peoples are allowed to develop our own forms of responsible government. The route is...diverse and varied...The Fourth World is not a Final Solution....It is the right to travel freely....Real integration can only be achieved through a voluntary partnership. This way...is through home rule....The demand of Indian people is that we be allowed to sit at the table where our lives are being negotiated....The whole history of Canada...has been one long negotiation about the distribution of economic and political power." (p. 218).

o) "The commitment of the revoluntary leaders to the oppressed is at the same time, a commitment to freedom. And because of that commitment, the leader cannot attempt to conquer the oppressed, but must achieve their adherence to liberation." (Freire, 1968:168).

Manuel, G:

"What struck me was that he (Henry, Judge Castillion) would challenge a man's word just because he knew it was worthless. There were many men I talked to without trusting what they told me. I would listen carefully and then discard their words like waste. Provoked, I would walk away before they finished. But he (Henry) had told the man just how he should dispose of the (worthless) warranty himself. That was another matter....Henry taught me now to gather information, and to sort out the facts and honest beliefs from the half-truths and deceptions. He also taught me to assert myself once I knew that I was on firm ground. Of all the lessons...taught me, if these two were learned well the rest would have to come no matter what course was followed." (pp. 119-120).

p) "The task of leadership and Government is not to try and force this kind of development, but to explain, encourage and participate." (Nyerere, 1968:131).

Manuel, G:

"Tanzania is...a good example of the difference between the Third World and the Fourth World (as it exists in Canada) because neither the people nor their leaders have been content to produce a new society that is merely a darker imitation of the world of their colonial masters." (p. 245).

Cardinal, H:

"Indian organizations and the Federal government should do whatever is necessary to conduct an effective public relations program for the purpose of explaining their role and that of the local Band Education authorities to Ministers of Education, to Department of Education officials and to school board members." (p. 64).

"When people cannot turn to their chief and council for effective support, they turn to the Indian organizations. They expect the organizations to play an ombudsman's role. Because of this role, some tensions do develop between Indian organizations and local chiefs and councils....A common element of all these problems is the interlocking yet opposing concepts held by government and Indian people." (p. 103).

Adams, H:

"So far governments have found that co-opting native organizations and their leaders is the most effective method of integrating them. Judging by government's reaction to complaints against the injustices of native organizations, it seems that government's intentions are not to benefit the masses...they are to reward the co-opted leaders who will keep the others in their places through vague promises and manipulated token programs. At the same time, the organizations smother all potential indigenous leadership at the local level. It is a nice motherhood appeal to suggest that Indian and Metis become Members of Parliament and improve the legislation for native people. Liberation will not take place through the present native leaders and organizations." (p. 187).

"Token integration is the most the Canadian society will allow and that is not enough to prevent racial problems." (p. 204).

q) "A leader will have an opportunity to explain his ideas and to try to persuade the people that they are good; but it must be for the people themselves to accept or reject his suggestions. It does not matter if the discussion takes a long time." (Nyerere, 1968:135).

Cardinal, H:

"There was a mistaken but common belief among our people that their relationships with the larger society was based on the treaties. The distinction between the treaties and the Indian Act was never clear to them.

This put Indian organizations and Indian leaders in a hell of a position....We had to explain that there is nothing in the Indian Act protecting hunting, fishing and trapping rights. Even in the treaties, where those rights seem to be clearly protected from our point of view, they have been eroded by

actions such as migratory bird laws. But our people continued to believe that these rights were promised in the treaties, and the Indian Act protects their treaty rights...they (the native people) think 'the real reason we are losing our rights is that these (Indian) leaders are talking about that dammed Indian Act. We were forced to really look at what was happening." (p. 96).

"One of the very real and very tough tasks that Indian organizations have to take on is the clarification of the laws affecting Indian people. They must explain the distribution of power between federal and provincial governments...how those branches come to share powers, even powers not clearly defined by constitutional law....Power struggles within the government are unfathomable. This is the sort of thing we must explain." (p. 97).

"One recurring problem is discussing the Indian Act...concerns the traditional powers held by the chief and council of a reserve. Their authority stems from the fact it was the band headmen who signed the treaties...among the powers, was the power to determine who could and who could not enter a reserve ...obtaining permission from the chief and council. The people thought this power derived from the treaties and that chiefs and councils have retained it to this day....Under the law as specified in the Indian Act, the chief and council had no such power....We could prove that to anyone, but to try to make that point to the people has proved futile. They think that we are...showing disrespect....The relationship (of the authority of the chiefs and council) began to shift when Indian agents began enforcing...provisions of the Indian Act." (p. 99).

"My central assumption is that there is a need...(for a provincial organization) and part of our job is to get across to the people what our functions are, and what purpose we fill." (p. 214).

r) "Their field workers (Rural Development Leaders) should be available to help the people to organize themselves, to advise them...." (Nyerere, 1968:143).

Manuel, G:

"Julius Nyerere...tells the (graduating) students that their studies have been made possible through the common labour of the common people of the villages. Now...they have a debt to pay. They must return the knowledge to the people who sent them to find it....Then I knew there were ways modern technology can be adopted to traditional values....Somebody had made a judgment about national goals and community needs...." (p. 244).

"It is not always necessary that (the community development worker) say very much himself...he only needs to get people to ask these questions about themselves, in terms of their whole community....Is this were you really want to be? Do you want to do something about it?" (p. 127).

Campbell, M:

"The Native movement grew in strength...Community Development, the organization that government had created to keep white radicals busy, suddenly became very threatened. Their objective had been to phase themselves out when Native people no longer needed them. Native people didn't need them anymore and said so. Suddenly their (community workers) priority became survival. The Native leaders, whom Community Development had handpicked - and underestimated - would not be dictated to any longer. Government...phased out Community Development and gave us money. Not much, just enough to divide us again. The blanket that our leaders almost threw away started to feel warm again....Those of us who saw what was happening and spoke out against it were phased out and branded as communists." (p. 183).

(See Item 1, Cardinal, H. (pp. 14-15)).

s) "Leaders cannot do anything for the people. We can only provide the necessary information, guidance and organization for the people to build their own country for themselves. Leaders have to know the reality of our present position and then to show the people how by our own effort, we can change the present poverty into something better." (Nyerere, 1968:151).

Adams, H:

"Because I had made a resolution as a child that I would never turn the other cheek, it was easy for me to become part of the native struggle again....I offered the skills and benefits of my schooling to my people (in Saskatchewan) in their struggle for equality and liberation...the political skills essential to organizational work among colonized people." (pp. 177-178).

Cardinal, H: (See Item g (p. 97)).

(See Item n (p. 95)).

Manuel, G: (See Item f (p. 63), (p. 71)).

Campbell, M: (See Item f (p. 175)).

(See Item d (pp. 166-167), (p. 175)).

t) "The more sophisticated knowledge of the leader is remade in the

empirical knowledge of the people while the latter is refined by the former." (Freire, 1968:165).

Manuel, G:

"This was the first time (1960 in B.C.) in the history of intertribal organizing...that such effort had gone into creating a direct involvement of every interested member of each local community....The internal traditions of every tribe had always required the direct involvement of the people. The chief was there to speak the mind of the people, but not to be the mind." (p. 122).

(See Item l (pp. 119-120)).

Cardinal, H: (See Item m (p. 95)).

u) "In cultural synthesis and only in cultural synthesis - it is possible to resolve the contradiction between the world view of the leaders and that of the people, to the enrichment of both." (Freire, 1968:183).

Cardinal, H:

"The basic task that remains after three or four centuries of contact between Indians and whites is still the construction of a bridge of understanding between two worlds that exists as separate realities." (p. 16).

"Only then can we understand what we are fighting about, what we are trying to work out together what it really is that we are after." (p. 9).

Manuel, G:

"We cannot become equal members in your society. We can become a member of a new society in which everyone chooses to share. But that cannot happen until you (dominant society) begin to re-consider and reformulate your understanding, and your view of the world, as we have begun to reformulate ours." (p. 261).

"The vision of the wisdom of the Fourth World is that the day must come when all nations and leaders recognize that moral progress is not a secondary by-product of the development of new techniques. That industry and technology produce nothing more than tools...progress to native people means the wedding of your own traditions, and values with the methods, knowledge and technology of the global civilization throughout our lifetime." (p. 98).

"If the Canadian claim to establish a Dominion with sovereignity from sea to sea was based on any element of natural

justice, or if Canada was in any way touched by the Great Law that must to some extent govern all nations, there must be a basis on which the Indians of Canada can participate in the larger society of Canada while we continue to be Indian." (p. 98).

"Our hopes for the Fourth World are at least as credible as the belief in a Canadian nation with nearly autonomous provinces, a diversity of languages and cultures, and a mutual respect for one another's view of the world. Indian institutions are as capable of growth and adaptations as any others....(Those) who argue that our ways have been lost to us, they are fulfilling one of their own tribal rituals - wish fufillment." (p. 216).

"The greatest barrier to recognition of aboriginal rights does not lie with the courts, the law, or even the present administration. Such recognition necessitates the re-evaluation of assumptions, both about Canada and its history and about Indian people and our culture...with which people have lived for centuries. Real recognition of our presence and humanity would require a genuine reconsideration of so many people's role in...society that it would amount to a genuine leap of imagination." (p. 224).

"Land and water are sources of life. If land and water were like the goods man produces by his own labor, we could repair or replace what was exhausted and make more to meet our growing needs. We know that this is not so. The traditional relationship of Indian people with the land, the water, the air, and the sun....Its strength lies in the accuracy of the description it offers of the proper and natural relationship of people to their environment and to the larger universe.... Their sanctity is recognized because of their importance to our survival...." (p. 256).

The need to re-define our relationship with the land cannot be separated from our need to find (better) ways of re-distributing wealth across regional and provincial boundaries as a matter of right and without pre-conditions" (p. 257).

"...Our lives are too bound up with yours for either of us to go entirely our separate ways...." (p. 261).

v) "Cultural synthesis does not deny the differences between the two views: it is based on these differences. It does deny the invasion of one by the other, by affirming the undeniable support each gives to the other." (Freire, 1968:183).

Cardinal, H:

"To reverse this...trend of confrontation, we must examine

some of the myths that have contributed to the situation faced by Indian people in this country. We must re-examine the basic philosophies inherent in any discussion with white society, or with white individuals. The past and the present are important but basically we have to look to the future." (p. 1).

"All tribes across the continent have their own particular definitions of themselves as they relate to their environments...it is that thinking that distinguishes the traditional element right across the country. (The thinking - Nee-yow or Dene - with which native peoples define themselves is as a people in a balanced harmony relationship with their environment.)" (p. 11).

[The major point Harold Cardinal makes is that the goals held by whites and Indians to build a Canadian nation for future generations from different cultural contexts are not dissimilar.] "If this could be mutually recognized, a starting point can be established from which 'we can at least begin to create the environment that will allow a start at tackling the real problems without getting bogged down in a cold-war mentality between whites and Indians.'" (p. 15).

Manuel, G:

"The main value of the (Indian) act from our point of view was that it was one real protection of our lands, and spelled out the basic rights and privileges of living on the reserve. But it also included a price tag, i.e. denial of access to alcohol, denial of federal vote except through enfranchisement, policy shifts in education, issue of medical costs and extent of services. Changes to the Act in 1951 replaced oppression with ambiguity....The government adopted much of the rhetoric we submitted but the words came to sound as hollow as a gutted rabbit. We got the federal vote and they repealed the liquor prohibitions but the 'condition of the Indian people has worsened on almost every count....' 'Prove to me', Mr. Trudeau was heard to say, 'that such a thing as aboriginal rights exist.' The whole history of British Colonial rule, however great its faults, demands a recognition of such rights." (pp. 123-126).

"The major defence of any small community against invasion by outsiders is to isolate them....to extend a courteous distrust to an outsider until they are content that his wares are genuine....There is a difference between the pressure of numbers and the demand for power." (p. 135).

"Indian people have come together in common causes whenever the need and the opportunity have coincided....We do not need

a relationship with government based on a recognition with government based on a recognition and understanding of the past and present history of our people and based on the belief that our people are living." (p. 179).

"While these changes may be important for their own sake, few if any of them reach below the surface and touch on the fundamental ways in which two cultures, so different in their roots, meet and touch each other. Only with that meeting and touching can a gap be closed. Only the closing of that gap - not a domination of one over the other but a real meeting - can result in a real change." (p. 3).

"Perhaps the one true change of substance I have seen in the growing number of non-Indian people who are coming to value the land, the air, the water and the light as we do." (p. 4).

"Wherever I have travelled in the Aboriginal World, there has been a common attachment to the land. This is not the land that can be speculated or counterclaimed by another....The land from which our culture springs is like the water and the air, one and indivisable....The struggle of the past four centuries has been between these two ideas of land. Lurking behind this struggle for land was a conflict over the nature of man himself....Political processes reflect the same differences in world views." (pp. 6-7).

"Emergent will be a mutual inter-dependence of peoples by custom and practice in balance with the land, through a common soil of social and spiritual experience. Such mutuality can come only as each respects the wholeness of the other, and also acknowledges his own roots." (p. 7).

"We have not come together in three hundred years of living on the same land because neither side would accept the other's terms of union." (p. 7).

(See Item v, Cardinal, H. (p. 15)).

"People took on Christianity to the exclusion of Indian customs during the famine years...but just as people tried to maintain one economy while they developed another in the hope each could support and strengthen the other, so people tried to absorb Christian custom and belief into our way of life, rather than being absorbed into its way." (p. 61).

Cardinal, H:

"Many of our elders feel that, within the foreseeable future, we will witness the demise of the Indian reserve system...the

question of not whether we win or lose but how can we salvage the basic tenents of our nationhood? We must convince both our own and larger society that the costs of victory will be too high for either group....We must salvage what we can and work in the true spirit of peace and partnership. As we delve into the essence of Indian nationhood the parallel between our people and the Jewish people, with their steadfast belief in their nationhood, becomes much more striking." (p. 221).

"For this rebirth (of Canadian Indians) to be meaningful, anything short of true independence and complete freedom will not be acceptable....We must regain control over the basic decisions affecting our lives." (p. 222).

w) "Instead of following pre-determined plans, leaders and people, mutually identified, create together the guideline of their action. In this synthesis leaders and people are somehow reborn in new knowledge and action." (Freire, 1968:183).

Manuel, G:

"The variations (to the potlatch) that grew out of the possible loopholes (to counter enforcement of the Indian Act on reserves) were as numerous as the people who kept the traditions strong. We honour all the grandfathers whose imaginations rose above those of their oppressors. Whereas organization (to counter oppression by Indian agents civil servants of the Federal Government) usually followed tribal lines, the land question was able to bring together many more Indian societies into a single concerted action under a common umbrella." (p. 79).

"A meeting at Hope, B.C. 'brought together between two and three hundred (Indian) people. Two critical decisions came out of the Hope meeting. First was the recognition of the absolute need to develop the direct involvement of the people in each community....The second decision was that our submission be made under a new name...that desire for strength and unity made us realize that if we were ever to bring Indian people together in our own province (B.C.) we must do so under a banner that had not become identified with any leader, faction or position." (p. 121).

"He (Farrel Toombs) described the typical classroom situation as one in which 'a system of unilateral dependence is imposed'. (He) had carefully constructed a course for us designed, first to destroy that unilateral dependence, and then replace it with an experience in mutual dependence. When the group was prepared to discuss and define its own goals, to break down

the barriers that stood between each faction so that a consenus could be reached and experience shared, only then was it possible for him to teach us." (p. 133).

"The most important goal could not be measured. Throughout the housing fight people had crossed and re-crossed social and religious barriers they had not crossed in generations. The community as a whole had come together and experienced its wholeness in life as it had so often done in death....(They) had found the strength of which they were capable." (p. 148).

x) "If the revolutionary leaders manipulate them (people) instead of working towards their conscientization, the very objective of organization (that is liberation) is negated." (Freire, 1968:178).

Cardinal, H:

"Few people understood the dynamics of it. They never realized that the chief and council were not making the decisions, they were merely carrying out the decisions of the Indian agent... they had been undermined by their own leaders, cleverly used as puppets by the Indian agents (civil servants)." (p. 100).

(See Item l, all quotes).

(See Item m, all quotes).

Adams, H:

"Immediately after the red awakening in the mid-1960's, Indian and Metis organizations rose up in almost every province...as well as at national levels. Some were revived under different leaders, others were completely new. Since governments provide generous grants for the operation of these organizations, they direct their policies and programs, and even the ideology for the leaders....Governments did not get into the business of supporting these organizations until the 1960's when the restlessness of native people and red power posed a potential threat to their administration. The native groups were structured along the same lines as white bureaucractic institutions ...rules and procedures...The natives were so preoccupied with procedures and rituals (at meetings) that discussion on serious social and political issues never arose....Such meetings are useless because they smother rather than develop political and naional consciousness. Native people must be perceptive...to when they they are being led down blind alleys by the oppressors, red or white." (p. 181).

y) "In the conscientization process the educator has the right, as a person to have options. What she/he does not have is the right to impose them. To do this is to prescribe these options for others. To prescribe is to manipulate, to manipulate is to reify and to reify is to establish a relationship of domestication." (Freire, 1968:149).

Manuel, G:

"Some Indian people have come to think that there are two schools of anthropology: one that brings men knowledge of themselves, and another that replaces the missionaries as the servant of the state." (p. 78).

(See Item d, Campbell, M. (p. 175)).

(See Item f, Manuel, G. (p.63, (p. 122)).

(See Item l, Cardinal, H. (p. 14)).

"We must debate our own future in our own forum, and we must be enbled to live with the decisions that are taken in those forums....It is only with guarantees of our rights and of the powers to make the decisions affecting our communities that we can end the political manipulations." (p. 219).

"We have seen (1970-74) newly independent people colonize their smaller neighbours, or continue to keep them in subjection, because they are using the symbols of power left behind by the conquerors to establish their own status." (p. 245).

"Our aim (in education) is not to replace one imposed program with another. It is to allow our people the same voice in education that non-Indian North Americans have in the education of theirs. This is our understanding of equality... (thus) some bands may not even want to exercise this option right away." (p. 249).

z) "A revolutionary leadership must accordingly practice co-intentional education. Teacher and students (leader and people) co-intent on reality, are both subjects, not only in the task of unveiling that reality, and thereby coming to know it critically, but in that task, of re-creating that knowledge. As they attain this knowledge of reality through common reflection and action, they discover themselves as its permanent recreators." (Freire, 1968:56).

Cardinal, H:

"Indian Nation is not a political statement....The nationhood that our elders talk about would be similar to the nationhood of Jews....Today's nation states...base their claims to nationhood upon political acceptance by other states. A tribal definition of nationhood....Would be...based upon the relationship between a people and the creator....The religious and the political definitions of nationhood and nation are mixed together...important to clarify our definition." (p. 142).

(See Item v, Cardinal, H. (p. 11)).

(See Item u, Manuel, G. (p. 256)).

(See Item d, Cardinal, H. (p. 221)).

Manuel, G: (Deloria, V., forward).

George Manuel...rebels at the thought of the national state which is so rigid and short-sighted as to attempt to substitute 'citizenship' of whatever grade and quality for the living cultural traditions of peoples." (Deloria, Manuel, G. v, xi).

"On the North American continent, because of the continuous and seemingly endless stretches of land, Indian nations have become a strange form of 'domestic nation' in relation to Canada and the United States. Only when we visualize these conditions occurring everywhere and ask why it should be that way, why it has to be that way, are we prepared to learn from George Manuel what the Fourth World really is.

The Fourth World is a reality because it describes...the nature of the world as we now confront it....We come to realize that it calls forth in us the morality of law and human existence in a more profound manner than any other vision of the world has ever done. The Aboriginal peoples can only argue the morality of their case. Overwhelmed by European peoples, they cannot look forward to the day when they regain their lands....The world has come to a detente with history. The rapid depletion of resources, coupled with then inequitable allocation, calls for in humanity the necessary of re-evaluating its beliefs and values.

When George Manuel calls for the Canadian Parliament to fulfill its responsibilities and for the churches...to assume their burdens...he calls the institutions of the world to re-examine their own origins, the beliefs that brought them into being, and the basis of integrity that lies beneath their formal structure." (Deloria, Manuel, G. xiii).

"Teaching meant putting at our disposal whatever information and access to resources he might have. It mean helping to draw out of each individual the things that might be hardest to express, yet most important to say. It meant helping the group listen to what each person meant as well as what he said....This mean a tremendous change in style and attitude ....I became (more silent) and more concerned with trying to find the unspoken focus of the community and the person best suited to articulate that concern." (p. 133).

"The thought came to me that Farrel Toombs...had provided a scientific basis for the view of the world and the individual's relationship with the community and the universe, that

my grandfather had tried to teach me before I was twelve." (p. 134).

"If there is no single model on which to build either a route or a vehicle into the Fourth World there is both a common philosophy and a common fuel...." (p. 220).

"The energy to move away from this situation (unilateral dependence) comes from the realization that the way to remain Indian is to dispel the myths that give rise to false dilemmas ....Most Indian people not only want to remain Indian but do not believe that there is any conflict between wanting to live decently and wanting to maintain and develop our own way of life as Indian people." (p. 221).

"Our schools must provide what Julius Nyerere has called an 'education for self-reliance' within the first seven years of study...so that the real measure of his learning will be his capacity to further the goals of the community through his unique contribution....A valid curriculum can only be designed in harmony with the local economy, and the goals and aspirations of the people." (p. 249).

"The fastest way to bring about change among an oppressed people....The present condition of the Indian peoples in Canada is without even a single defender...is to put the decision-making authority, and the economic resources that go with this, into their own hands. Only then will there be a line clearly drawn between the evils of external control and our own normal human errors. So as long as external control is the dominant fact of life the line (from which responsibility can be taken) distinguishing the two faults does not really exist....Genuine integration will begin to take place when this line is apparent to everyone." (p. 246).

"The hardest task for the Fourth World (aboriginal) is to learn to produce that new reality that reconstructs a tradition in which people can hold a common belief, and which uses all the benefits of the global technology....Tanzania is the closest example to my understanding of the way Indian people want to develop." (p. 246).

"Still education is only the first key....We cannot move our school system very far...without acting on our understanding of who we are through our social, political and economic institutions." (p. 251).

"If our claims are true and our needs are real, are we not entitled to seek justice through all the means that have been open to men since the beginning of time? Do you think the new technology has created a new standard of truth? My belief in the Fourth World is an act of faith. There is more to the Fourth World than (to ask other men to let us pass freely)

because it is a global village in which we (all) live." (p. 261).

Presentation B - Native Respondents

a) "In the dialogical theory the leaders must dedicate themselves to an untiring effort for unity among the oppressed and unity of the leaders with the oppressed in order to achieve liberation." (Freire, 1968:173).

Shank, S:

"to get right into the core of the culture...after I got older...the amount I picked up there is mostly in terms of attitudes and values." (p. 4).

"there's no way that I'm going to damage or interfere with the main thrust of Indian culture, there's just no way." (p. 21).

"I can relate to you some of the instances which caused me to take second and third looks at the close tie I had with the Indian community." (p. 11).

"there's a place they call Germany but what about me...where am I going to go? But I support fully all the activities and action of Indian people, those people who are registered and have their 'rights of self government' and all those things." (p. 16).

Potts, L:

"I had to really claim my space there (on 4-Band Council as Chief)...it was kind of difficult and there were times when it was hard to decide things...were 4,000, 5,000 people...one had to know what was best for all rather than for small groups of people." (p. 5).

b) "Revolutionary leaders cannot think without the people, nor for the people, but only with the people." (Freire, 1968:126).

Shank, S:

"Just from doing what you're supposed to do, the world is not going to shower gifts on you. They (leaders) have to learn that. It is what you do extra that counts. The extra time you take to talk to young people. The extra time to look into your life and take your inventory...extra time you spend caring for other people and in exercising your body and your mind and your soul in the various areas that you need your strength....You must learn to look with the other guy's eyes. (p. 20).

Cardinal, D:

"Native leadership really rests with the people on the reserve who are known as good people, wise people, knowledgeable people and therefore people that follow their old traditions really have a stronger impact than people who have 'more' adopted the ways of society." (p. 2).

Wildcat, T:

"the young people in the school...are not interested in looking at the past too much...What we must be doing in the home...is telling their children identity is important." (p. 9).

Potts, L:

"I have maintained my own language and I speak it fluently. This helped alot when I was on the Council because I would speak whatever I thought, in whatever language I wanted to speak." (p. 3).

c) "The Revolution is made neither by the leaders for the people, nor by the people for the leaders, but both acting together in unshakeable solidarity." (Freire, 1968:124).

Shank, S:

"The most valuable contribution I have, I think I already have it, and that is to generalize the situation regarding people. Myself included." (p. 21).

Cardinal, D:

"I don't think in terms of native leadership that it has changed much since the old ways. The people still rely a great deal on their elders and that is true leadership." (p. 21).

Wildcat, T:

"What I have experienced as a member of this community and the little leadership I have and what I did with it. I feel that the people have been proof to me of progress that can be made...they have accepted me to a certain level and they have also respected what I believed." (pp.1-2).

"So I said to my son, I really disagree with it (Indian Act) but I rather want to be on the side of the chief, you know they are very strong on this, they will never give in. If chiefs ever consent, every woman that marries out is to keep her status and then to bring their children and husband in, so

pretty soon no reserves will exist or space, and maybe no Indians will exist either...that's the way the chiefs are looking at it. This way it keeps the Indian people Indian ...keeps them as a community." (p. 21).

d) "The leader's pursuit of unity is necessarily an attempt to organize the people, requiring witness to the fact that the struggle for liberation is a common task." (Freire, 1968:176).

Wildcat, T:

"When Sam came home he told me something happened. (Indian Association Meeting September 8, 1979) but some people were disappointed...that's a good thing what those people from the south are asking for. The southern people (Blackfoot-Blood) are looking at the Indian Association...it could be more effective if it was a lobbying organization...it's not doing that...to change legislation...They meant the Association has become another bureaucracy for native people....See we have the three bureaucracies...funnelling monies for Indian people." (pp. 23-24).

e) "In dialogical action, at no stage can revolutionary action forego communion with the people." (Freire, 1968:171).

Belcourt, H:

" 'That's right.' In practice you have very narrow organizations and their foundations are not in contact with the main group of people." (p. 16).

Cardinal, D:

"Alot of the native leaders, so called, who speak on behalf of the people do not really speak on behalf of the people. They are set up by government to speak on behalf of the people... they really speak on behalf of the government." (pp. 1-2).

Wildcat, T:

"But the school has really come down...and we were saying maybe now this is the time Indian people should take over their school. They should take over their school and say well I will improve my school, I will make it the way it should be. I am a member of this community, I want my school structured in such a manner...but before that happens...some bands are saying well let's teach the people in the community what school is all about...some of this has to happen too before this other thing can happen within the school." (p. 10).

Potts, L:

"I was 'very close to the people.' Especially the older

people because the one thing I have maintained...my own language and I speak it quite fluently." (p. 3).

"I think the person (leader) should have a name and quality." (p. 32).

f) "Both cultural action and cultural revolution imply communion between leaders and the people, as subjects who are transforming reality." (Freire, 1968:52).

Shank, S:

"Leadership doesn't evolve out of nowhere. It has to come from somewhere and it has to come from the community in which you live, in which the spirit exists for that leadership. Obviously the leadership for the Indian community has to come from the Indians." (p. 12).

"The potential for leadership among natives is very high because each individual...within himself but he knows where he belongs. He knows he's a part of the world and he knows that if he doesn't treat the rest of the world with respect... includes his own environment...everything." (p. 14).

"In the real sense of leadership, the Indian community has to produce the leaders..." (p. 17).

"Real leadership, the hard-nosed bricklayers, the builders are building, coming up and...given time...understanding...compassion of their fellow man...they will come forward. (p. 18).

"I know that I can serve as a model without seeking public attention. I started out in the grass roots helping Indians ...when I started rehabilitating myself....I went to skid-row." (pp. 18-19).

Belcourt, H:

"I think the native people have been accepted. I think really its the native person himself...If you as a person say well what the hell I'm a human being the same as you or anybody else, you know, and speak up...if something is said, well the problem is really solved isn't it to that individual." (p. 11).

Cardinal, D:

"There is one problem with native people and I suppose it's not a problem. It is that they are individuals and therefore they don't really believe in group participation...is a non-native concept....An Agarian culture developed people that had to fit within some kind of hierarchy. Being in this hierarchy they had to give up their individual freedoms to do so." (p. 2).

"the best way would be for the native people to discover how to get out of their syndrome themselves. The society has made them dependent (objects)...that's absolutely foreign to what an Indian is supposed to be in terms of philosophy...the important thing for the Indian people is to realize that they are still free individuals." (subject position) (p. 5).

"From a position of self-knowledge and respect for oneself you start saying why things are that are useful and some things are not...you learn to select things...you say part of this system does not respect people, therefore this part of the system is wrong. This part of the system is very good it respects the individual, it is something to add to, so you add some energy to it to perpetuate it. This aspect is something that should be discarded and you have to put your energy into making sure its discarded. So you help evolve a system to work better for people if you have some way of judging (empirical) whether it is or not. So you become very powerful.... And then you have to make sure that you do not take that power and misuse it." (p. 15).

Wildcat, T:

"they want to be like other children...they hate being Indian... this teaching of culture and language...has to come from the home." (p. 9).

"What they say about the symbols...headdress, feathers, leathers...this is a fine thing...but to ask young students... to go back to that maybe we put it to them the wrong way. It's not going back. There is a difference. It's appreciating what you are. It's identifying yourself, who you are...You know, name it." (p. 13).

Potts, L:

"The most important thing as far as I am concerned is you have to try and look at people as people, not just as your relatives and how close they are related to you...as being individuals and people. I used to kind of watch for...the ability of the people on the reserves who were really striving to achieve things...to initiate things that would improve them in anyway." (p. 4).

" 'With some' the quality of family life. I think its strong, very strong, showing great progress but a lot of people remain unchanged." (p. 24).

"Until Indian people lose this maternalism or paternalism that's been shown us from a hundred years back or so, until we let go of that not much can be done. But I think that the Indian people will be able to stand on their two feet and be able to accomplish things by themselves and be very proud of

being Indian people. As long as we hang onto the treaties I can't see anything like that happening." (p. 25).

g) "This function (between leaders and people through communion) can exist only if revolutionary action is really human, empathetic, loving, communicative and humble in order to be liberating." (Freire, 1968:171).

Shank, S:

"It showed concern to me...of different circumstances where this unique relationship (among Indians) works. I mean its there." (p. 12).

"Well, Indian people have to care for Indian people...care in the broadest sense, we must love and care for Indian people ....We still have to learn to love and care for Indian people, and we have to know when to step aside." (p. 20).

"...If you have lost the ability to care for people...then you're not doing them any favors." (p. 20).

h) "The trust of people in the leaders reflects the confidence of the leaders in the people. This confidence should not, however, be naive." (Freire, 1968:169).

Shank, S:

"Real leaders in their areas of speciality have an attitude of respect." (p. 19).

Cardinal, D::

"You learn to select things from a position of knowledge and respect for yourself...then you have to make sure that you do not take that power and misuse it....Your whole energy usually is spent on using your own power wisely...know what to do with power when you give it away...regroup...return to their own communities...assisting their people and developing leaders among the young people and doing a lot of ground work." (pp. 14-16).

Potts, L:

"You (leader) can carry all the load if you want to, but you can also assign responsibilities and this is what I used to do...to the co-ordinators...so they are not dangling in the air...so I'm not the only one doing all their business. I 'trust the ones I work with' and I did the same when I was in Council." (pp.5-6).

i) "For the Tanzanian leader, it must be forbidden to be arrogant, extravagant, contemptuous, and oppressive. The Tanzanian leader has to be a person who respects people, scorns ostentation and is not a tyrant." (Nyerere, 1974: Mwongozo wa Tanu:15).

[This item is really an expansion of item g) (Freire, 1968:171), statement g) is positive and descriptive. Statement i) states the same idea in a polarized contrastive form.]

For purposes of this analysis. Respondent data will be used under both categories.

j) "The leaders must believe in the potentialities of the people, whom they cannot treat as mere objects of their own action: they just believe that the people are capable of participating in the pursuit of liberation." (Freire, 1968:169).

Shank, S:

"Well I just didn't take a backseat from anybody. I won't take any backseat. If a guy was Indian or White it didn't matter....I seen alot of Indian people...lot of talent...lot of qualities...they are bullied...intimidated...they start sticking around the outskirts of the job...other Indian people who are able to push ahead...my brothers run into the same thing....They would call anybody on this...only way that we could gain our identity...led towards making the kind of person I am now." (p. 5).

"So in my mind the main struggle from the Indian cultural point of view was within that culture..." (p. 8).

"Each Indian, is an individual...within himself...knows where he belongs...he knows that he must treat the rest of the world with respect..." (p. 14). (This item is similar to f).

"Many of them with alcohol problems, I have worked with. I met here a guy not two weeks ago...who I worked with 16 years ago... I worked with him for a short time...eventually he went home and brought the ideas home with him...started some groups up down there and he is involved...this is what I'm really talking about. Everyone can be a leader..." (p. 19).

Cardinal, D:

"Man forced man to evolve above man. So when you realize that the bureaucracies and the people within them, the Indian Affairs Department, their attitudes, the attitudes of society and your (native people) evolution...they test your potential as an individual...these people who know nothing about freedom...will test every weakness, every flaw, and every weird quirk in our being. They will clean it out of our being with

the hammering they are putting us through. So you get 85% alcoholism and an average life span of 34 - 35 years...a great service....To survive, you'll rise above it....So you see native people understanding and knowing governments and systems more than anybody walking down the street." (p. 19).

Wildcat, T:

"There is another thing about leadership. I think the women have to work hard to be recognized...for what they are...they have potential...it must happen...women have to work very very hard to receive recognition and justice....Who runs the band office? It's always a man." (p. 7).

k) "As a form of leadership which exploits the emotions of the people, manipulation inculcates into the invaded the illusion of action or their acting within the action of the manipulators. In that manipulation encourages 'massification', it categorically contradicts the affirmation of human beings as subjects. Such affirmation can only occur when those engaged in transforming action upon reality also make their own choices and decisions. (Freire, 1973:144).

Belcourt, H:

"Regarding the leadership of the native people I feel that the leaders themselves must realize one thing that the Government of Canada is really the downfall of the movement of people or betterment of native people...they give out little bits of money to keep them (the leaders) happy...is Indian Affairs itself to start with. If you could do away with that Department completely...if the native leaders could realize this ...they could better themselves....The ways the laws are set up they can't do that....It must be approved by Indian Affairs. So it holds them back. So it keeps them in that 'reserve' and its something like...colonies of Indians...different from other colonies...in the native community - where everything is sort of handed to them. We'll look after you more or less, but you know, you don't really have to work that hard...the whole system is wrong somehow...if you could get the (native) leaders to realize and direct things for the people with a firm hand more or less...lot better off." (pp. 1-2).

"In my own eyes I feel that they (Government of Canada and Indian Affairs) want them (Indians) down...must keep them down...because they must have issues...they must justify for their (civil service) existence in Indian affairs." The mentality of the government bureaus is 'it's a big bureaucrarcy so don't (its native leaders) disturb us out there (in native communities). They don't want these leaders to get up and say, this and that. They must keep them (native leaders) quiet by handling them all, well O.K. They have a program, we'll give a few hundred thousand dollars to you (Native organizations) and you can continue but don't both us for

another year.' In other words this is what they're saying ...take the non-treaty (organizations), well you have your elections of course, this is again the same thing. They (native leaders) are trying to get ahead but once they get a few dollars handed to them - carrots - ...to keep quiet more or less...instead of them (the leaders) saying this is what we are going to do and get on with it." (p. 3).

Cardinal, D:

"When you realize the only thing you have to do is to die, then you are a free man. You realize that if you do not live in a certain fashion the ramifications at your death are extremely painful as you come to terms with yourself and your life... (you decide) I'll live the way I am because I will die in tune with myself...when this happens you realize what you are or what your potential is...rest follows." (p. 13).

"And then you have to make sure that you do not take that power and misuse it....Alot of Indian leaders got the power through their old ways and there are so many temptations in society that they never had bevore...they misuse their power because they felt powerless before...some have started learning from the elders and discovered how to become strong individuals." (p. 15).

1) "Attempting to liberate the oppressed without their reflective participation in the act of liberation is to threat them as objects which must be saved from a burning building; it is to lead them into the populist pitfall and transform them into masses which can be manipulated." (Freire, 1968:52).

Shank, S:

"I'm not saying that these activists are unnecessary...they are sort of the cream of the crop you might say, but the cream is getting pretty damn thin because of the erosion at the bottom." (p. 18).

"You hear of nepotism in native organizations. The man may not have no other choice...because they don't get that kind of support from other people. And this is the way it goes, the central dividing principle..." (p. 15).

"We too also have, we have a funded organization, political organizations but they have proven somewhat ineffective in gaining any land rights or anything like that for the simple reason that there are other issues which are taking precedence over our effort...one...is Indian rights for Indian women... its taking the steam out...hitting us right in the gut..." (p. 16).

"if you're merely replacing the oppressive forces you're not doing your people any favour." (p. 20).

Belcourt, H:

"They (native leaders) are trying to get ahead but once they get a few dollars handed to them (government funding of native organizations), what I call this carrot, instead of them saying this is what we are going to do and get on with it...they get a couple of hundred thousand dollars for the year to keep quiet more or less. (p. 3).

m) "The populist leader...is an ambiguous being, an 'amphibian' who lives in two elements. Shuttling back and forth between the people and the dominant oligarchies, he bears the marks of both groups. Since the populist leader simply manipulates instead of fighting for authentic popular organization, this type of leader serves the revolution little if at all." (Freire, 1968:147).

Belcourt, H:

"For the Metis people, this carrot (government funding of native organizations) was dangled at the leaders, therefore they (the leaders) went ahead and they formed locals and they became part of a little government, amongst all these locals, and there it fell down again. Once they were elected they didn't really do too much, and it left the people out there - nowhere. There were hopes out there in the communities...but there was no money to do anything with. So by that time another year goes by and there is no money left for anything ...If you are going to dangle that carrot out there for the few dollars that the government is giving them just to keep them quiet, they might as well get nothing at all." (pp. 3-4).

"What is happening...as I see it with the leaders, they fall into the hands of government. Now they're sitting pretty pretty actually, drawing a nice big salary and have a board of directors each getting an honorarium. They become quite happy now. This is easy money....That's right they sit back until it comes to election time. You see and this is how the governments have really kept them quiet." (p. 9).

Cardinal, D:

"Alot of the Indian leaders got the power through their old ways and there are so many temptations in society that they never had before...cars and colored T.V. and big homes...they misuse their power because they felt powerless before. There's been a cultural revival lately and they got their own act together and were able to defend themselves because they started learning from their elders and listening to them... they have passed the point of you buying them." (p. 15).

n) "The leader must on the one hand identify with the people's demands ... while, on the other they must pose the meaning of that demand as a problem." (Freire, 1968:185).

Shank, S:

"The only viable political background that he can draw from is his family....Well they support him but they make demands on him too....It's a very heavy, it's a heavy trip." (p. 15).

Belcourt. H:

"If you could do away with that Department (Indian Affairs) completely and put it (native responsibilities) into the hands of the Secretary of State which encourages economic development, and if the native leaders could really realize this, I think they could be better themselves." (p. 1).

Potts, L:

"Its (drug abuse) increasing unfortunately. Here...from what I got, I was sitting on the Board before I was the Administrator, so I have an idea of what went on here. The Centre here didn't localize on drug abuse very much, we work more on the alcoholism side of counselling." (p. 16).

"I think the most positive (change on the reserve)...is the fact the women have a lot, lot more. You know, voicing their opinions and really making things happen...if their women have had it, everybody has had it in that family." (p. 22).

"I think that I had a good experience (in leadership) because I'm from the Buffalo people, I got thousands of relatives here... the only thing that I, when it came to job selection and that type of thing. I tried to maintain the attitude of just selecting quality rather...the fact of their being closely related to Council...if they were qualified to do the job...I think these are the ones who are supposed to do the job. That's the way I feel." (p. 28).

"You only have one vote and once voice in the Council and that's the only thing you have for a tool, and there are 31 people in there, so the only thing you (leader) can do is be as persuasive as you can be about something that you think will work and if you can persuade more on your side...that's the thing to do. You cannot go around banging tables." (p. 34).

o) "The commitment of the revolutionary leaders to the oppressed is at the same time, a commitment to freedom. And because of that commitment, the leader cannot attempt to conquer the oppressed, but must achieve their adherence to liberation." (Freire, 1968:168).

Shank, S:

"That's all you need to do, is to arouse a person's curiosity and he begins to want those things." (p. 9).

Cardinal, D:

"there still is no real status in gathering stuff. It is usually the man who gives away as much as you can give away who is looked at as somebody that's wealthy." (p. 4).

p) "The task of leadership and government is not to try and force this kind of development, but to explain, encourage, and participate." (Nyerere, 1968:131).

Belcourt, H:

"You know if they (governments) are saying to a leader out there, this is waht we are going to do in economic development, we are going to train your people and you (leaders) must do this, this and that....Maybe it might take a form of dictatorship or a hard line amongst the people, I'm sure they (native people) would listen if you took the hard line, and they would do as they were told...They would follow....I mentioned before, if you as a white person started a store and I as a native person who opened up a store, none of the native people would buy from me. They would go to you and buy from the white man's store because he is hard, he won't do this and he's call him a son of a bitch and the whole thing but they respect him for it. I mean the native person is really the soft one (the position native leaders are placed in by government funding for development) you know, trying to be nice to his own people so they can try and get going (reverse paternalism) but it's hard for him (the leader). The people drag him down, hold him down." (p. 4).

"There is so much red tape for any group to try and get something (cash or information) out of government." (p. 8).

"Tne native leaders from the communities, if they would get into government in order to make the changes, because that's the only place you can really actually change any of the Acts. You may (as a native organization) have alot of pressure but will it really change any of the Acts? They (leaders) must get into office in order to make these changes...if they could see this!" (p. 11).

"What I tried to get the Provincial government to do was to go out in Alberta and hand pick people who had ideas, that want to get on their feet and employ people in that community, use a five loan-fund system...we were given a fact finding tour ...some leaders...were not invited...balked at the idea and the whole thing died." (p. 14).

Wildcat, T:

"So I would say that perhaps with patience, encouragement, cooperation from the governments both provincial and federal, if we have educated people then perhaps our communities will look better. I think the young people are beginning to see this also." (p. 6).

q) "A leader will have an opportunity to explain his ideas and to try to persuade the people that they are good; but it must be for the people themselves to accept or reject his suggestions. It does not matter if the discussion takes a long time." (Nyerere, 1968:135).

Shank, S:

"After I got older, when I was grown up, and the amount I picked up there is mostly in terms of attitudes and values." (p. 4).

"He needs support...there's not a viable social mechanism... through which he can channel these kinds of energies of his spirit...they don't exist...the only viable political group is the family." (p. 14).

Belcourt, H:

"Strong leaders, yes...but here again in the elections (in native organizations) be damned if they (native people) would listen to someone like that. They will go along with someone who will sweet talk them because of this carrot that the government hands out....All they see is these dollar signs... this leader is gonna get from the government. They are not going to get a penny (in the local community) if they's only realize it. That's what I see." (p. 5).

"To start with, if they (native leaders) are going to do anything on economic development if the leader out there in that community...it is important to do a good study of it (project or industry) you discuss it with people in that small community. (Decide) this is what we are going to do, we can borrow the money. Not the handout system...if these leaders would go ahead...actually borrow the money and the people will pay it back...if that was the attitude that could ever be taken...a long ways ahead. That's my feeling." (p. 5).

"So when you talk about leaders, if the Association had leaders that could get these across to the people. When it comes to an election again, it's a dirty game. People are bought off with a bottle of beer, things like this. Because someone is successful running for the leadership of the native people, there's mistrust again. Somehow there is, I have that feeling because you are not one of us attitude, I think, and therefore they would never elect a person that

would really try and help them out of that situation they are in." (p. 14).

"I believe to get change and to get people actually in what the leaders should really do once they are elected...is to use the electoral system in the association like we do have in Canada. Not just a general meeting for a few but in every native community there will be ballot boxes. They (leaders) would have to go out and campaign at every settlement, every community and the people then would decide...not the 500 or 800 people that could afford really to come to these elections at a given spot...that would be one step for change...like the Metis Association has had one leader, except for one term, for the last ten years, so they don't want change. They want to remain in the position they hold." (p. 15).

Wildcat, T:

"I have found in people here too that among Indians, education means nothing, you know...it's not a priority....They have to believe education could do something for them and maybe this takes a long, long time with people." (p. 2).

"Where I live the people take things for granted. For years we do this, for years we live this way but one day someone says Well you need a change. Let's do it this way....The chief and council for years has been structured this way ...younger people are saying now, it cannot be done that way...this time what they did they called a meeting. They want the candidates to tell the band members why they are consenting to be nominated to run - to be a leader. Why do you do this? Is it for the money? Is it to serve the people? ...this is progress. Progress has happened in this community." (p. 6)

Potts, L:

"One thing I see now, being an outsider from the Council is that priorities are not set....If the priorities were set... things will be done, they will not be left undone....I think that education would be my priority." (p. 7).

"That part of drug abuse hasn't really been touched yet. It's been just coming and going...I would certainly like to do some programs on that." (p. 20).

r) "Their field workers (Rural Development Leaders) should be available to help the people to organize themselves, to advise them... (Nyerere, 1968:143).

Potts. L: (on drug abuse and alcoholism)

"We are hoping to get into the schools...with public information programs, doing alot of home visits, contact and

followups and we go to different things,...they (clients) have a lot of things they get involved in as part of the recovery programs...on a recurring basis." (p. 15).

"I've been hinting (to the Councils) that I would be in their office...with a proposal that they hire one member from each band to work for me and they pay them...hopefully we will get a youth workers sponsored by the 4-band council." (p. 17).

"The whole family does get affected some way or another. If we can start a family counselling type of thing....It only makes sense...if we can deal with the total problem, I think it will work....You cannot water a plant from the leaves, you have to water it from the roots." (pp. 20-21).

"If a business is going to run you (leader) have to put the right people in there otherwise your business is just slip-shod and if you can detect the people that can do it and be able to get outfront and say I would like this person to do this and that person to do that, I think that would be an asset." (p. 32).

s) Leaders cannot do anything for the people. We can only provide the necessary information guidance and organization for the people to build their own county for themselves. Leaders have to know the reality of our present position and then to show the people how by their own effort, we can change the present poverty into something better." (Nyerere, 1968:157).

Belcourt, H:

"If you really need help in a community, if you want to raise funds...people will come through. I would say you need a person (leader) that sees what is going on in government, who says well first of all I want to know the ins and outs of that government and every department. I would want to find out if we've got money as an organization from the government...even hire someone who has the qualifications (expertise) to go there and I'd want to know every piece of information I can, of every department and where I fit in on the economic development of this community or as a whole country and that information has to come back....I'd have to know what that person's (leader's) thinking is, really what does he want to achieve. Does he want to achieve to continue the hand out system...if this is his attitude then I don't want him (as a leader)." (p. 8).

t) "The more sophisticated knowledge of the leader is remade in the empirical knowledge of the people while the latter is refined by the former." (Freire, 1968:165).

Shank, S:

"They feel they belong to the world of ideas, but an idea can live in space, but a human being can't. We are still here, and we have to take account of this. I think that the Indians... have a lot to contribute here to bring the people back to the reality of their own humanness. Non-Indian organizations and institutions are not outside the laws of the ecosystem. If something is killing species of nature, 'it can kill me too, and you have to look at that closely...' " (p. 14).

"We (leaders) have to know when to move aside...and let the young guys take over, but we musn't let them do that without question. They must be tested as we were." (p. 20).

"Perhaps Indian scholars who are now coming forward, that's what I'm talking about as leadership...scholars who can articulate these actions and write books on them....But they are not going to find their information....by reading other books, they are going to have to go out in the field and find out where the treasures are hidden. Gold is not where you want it to be, it's where you find it, and that's the way it is with us right now." (p. 21).

Wildcat, T:

"At this meeting someone said you make the leaders the way they are. We the community, the people, maybe if we went to them, not so much to pressure them...we should ask the leaders you know in a good way (for their commitment)." (p. 28).

u) "In cultural synthesis and only in cultural synthesis - it is possible to resolve the contradiction between the world view of the leaders and that of the people, to the enrichment of both." (Freire, 1968:183).

Shank, S:

"Its the singular idea that can penetrate. If an idea becomes defused it doesn't penetrate any further...loses its power ...its momentum." (p. 13).

y) "Cultural synthesis does not deny the differences between the two views: it is based on these differences. It does deny the invasion of one by the other, by affirming the undesirable support each gives to the other." (Freire, 1968:183).

Shank, S:

"So in my mind the main-struggle from the Indian cultural point of view was within that culture." (p. 8).

"I have come to some conclusions...one is that you cannot introduce items from a highly technical civilization to a non-technical civilization with disrupting it." (p. 6)

"from a big family....You soon learn to give the other guy his space. You learn that space is an important thing and you don't intrude on people." (p. 3).

"Japan...They started using that idea (industralization) integrating that idea with their people and we know the results there. On the other hand we look at societies that adopted the British view, like India, they're still having problems. The idea was not singular...." (p. 13).

"When we look at the type of society Indians have to integrate into...there are many obstacles....First is the education system... the content has a lot of foreign idea in it." (p. 12).

Belcourt, H:

"I definitely see that that Act (Indian Act) should be changed. With these native people, what they have actually is a big bank from Indian Affairs....Turn those funds over into the Secretary of State. Do away with Indian Affairs. They then (native people) could deal with...give them that chance. But they must pay it back. If they fail O.K. so you might have a loss of 10% of them that will fail, but there's, what about the balance that are going to succeed, its a risk." (p. 6).

"If you did away with all this, you know, you'd (Indian people) become part of everybody. You don't have something, a label... through the Indian Act...put on you." (p. 7).

Cardinal, D:

"There's traditional chessboard and ours is queens. We move any which way, so who is going to win....So after winning a while you think well that feel's good because you have lost so much...but then what? Well then you go back....When it comes right down to it...it's a big paper tiger [adversary governmental organization] and nothing to be afraid of, because you have to have that in your mind to develop that individual strength, then you come back and you assist other people, help them become individuals [subject] and if everybody feels the same way and if everybody realizes what the system is and how it can be used to benefit them in a positive sense and how some things have got to change...for the benefit of everybody (all of society), then you can feel that you can be useful... to your community... to yourself...to the general society..." (p. 18).

Potts, L:

"I have gained an awful lot of knowledge, strength and self-confidence...I am the type of person to just voice what I think and I say it...it may hit the nail right on the head and it hurts...mostly always true." (p. 13).

"Mind you I didn't allow anybody to push me around, but I still do that on the reserve, it doesn't matter where it is. Society is geared for competition. Indians also have to compete - take a stand. It works...first of all, I am an individual...I don't try to be somebody else...schooling and experience I have made use of it...I realize I make my own life... I won't allow anyone to get me angry because I realize they are in control of me when I am angry...I don't allow that...but its part of growing as a person." (pp. 30-31).

w) Instead of following pre-determined plans, leaders and people, mutually identified, create together the guideline of their action. In this synthesis leaders and people are somehow reborn in knowledge and action. (Freire, 1968:183).

(This concept ask for the evidence of the reality of concepts h) and g) which are concepts of awareness - or in other words idealogical).

Cardinal, D:

"Like in this society, where individuals have to walk hand in hand from the cradle to the grave and be responsbile to some group or bureaucratic structure, they don't know how to deal with the power they have. But if you are master of your life then you have the ultimate power over whatever action you make, and every action you make is a spiritual act consistent with your own life force...then you understand power in a positive sense. You get Indian leaders now that are operating with caution...they do something it has to be a spirited act. They are going along fast...always work with nature...the elders... alot of leaders are emerging like that...leaders of the Hopi and Navajo nations, their leaders have evolved to that point. They don't have to fit within any hierarchy... That kind of thinking is important...I will do what I have to do and deal with what I have to be." (p. 23).

Potts, L:

"You see we've been working on this (alcoholism). I was one of the more fortunate ones because I was involved right from the very start. This recovery movement started way back in 1969 or 1970. A group of us got together and we thought we had better do something...and its been moving along since. It

was the Tribal Counselling Services at first, and then they had the 4-Band Centre along with that, and four years ago they amalgamated the two and this is what came of it. (Treatment Centre)." (p. 18).

x) If the revolutionary leaders manipulate them (people instead of working toward their conscientization, the very objective of organization (that is liberation) is negated. (Freire, 1968:178).

Cardinal, D:

"To be a true Indian...you are a...self-sufficient individual ...to be a complete human being is to learn about yourself... your potential...to be self-sufficient. Therefore you don't have to use other people or lead other people because you spend your time in leading your own life. If you do need to lead other people's lives then you are a sick person because you need other people's power to blow you up. The people that need the power of others to become leaders are not leaders in the Indian society per se...you are not a whole balanced person. In the Indian culture, Hitler, Mussolini, Nixon and those types would not be leaders." (p. 3).

"If you give power to a group the direction that power follows is towards the lowest common denominator in the group. Groups do terrible things that individuals never do...because there is no responsibility...it...shifts....You are not responsible for your acts when you are part of a group....The thinking is, 'I'm just following orders'....Other peoples have got to the same 'Holocaust', but more died on this continent." (p. 22).

y) In the conscientization process the educator has the right, as a person, to have options. What she/he does not have is the right to impose them. To do this is to prescribe these options for others. To prescribe is to manipulate, to manipulate is to reify and to reify is to establish a relationship of domestication. (Freire, 1968:149).

Cardinal, D:

"Yes. To be a true Indian you never give your power to a group. You are a totally self-sufficient individual." (p. 2).

"Within the Indian culture the whole emphasis...was to develop individuals. Because if you developed individuals then the tribe was strong, thus you could not destroy a people by destroying their leadership. The only way you could destroy individuals then was line them all up against the wall. Each one of them are individuals, so they were guaranteed in a sense one's own personal freedom. Individuality is...to be totally self-sufficient and owe nothing to any man so you are never dependent on any man." (p. 3).

"The native thought and philosophy is almost a total threat to civilized (European) philosophy, therefore the propaganda that is perpetrated towards the Indian thinking has reduced it to primitive thought...so they go about mental destruction - physical destruction not being fashionable - through programming in their institutions, like they have with the Indian culture with their educational system which is a negative influence on the Indian people." (p. 9)

"Because for all their (governments and society) power plays they are very weak people. Because their chessboard is a king and a queen and a pawn and a roque and they all have various positions and moves....all their moves are absolutely predictable and if you (leader) are a hunter in the Indian culture...a warrior...you learn total hunting predictability and therefore you become totally unpredictable so you don't fall into traps of others and whatever. So you learn that society, when you understand it...entirely predictable... ceases to be a real problem." (p. 17).

Wildcat, T:

"In 1968...across Canada, through Indian Affairs and probably with the aid of the native people, Indian Affairs became quite serious to tell the leaders of the reserves...we must have a group of people called School Committees...now looking back I don't know if it was such a wonderful idea to move to start from the 4-Band, maybe it should have been started rather at a lower level where each Band should have been given this opportunity to organize...today that's exactly what's happening in each little Band...there was a 4-Band School Committee and today education in Hobbema as far as Four Band is zero control and administration, you know...it should have been done in a more reserved way. Each Band should have understood what education is all about." (p. 2).

"At one time here the school committee was a very powerful committee and perhaps that should have been the time, the people should have taken over their school...today...its so disorganized...they don't even have a responsible chairman... he sits on a rotating thing...it's not a very consistent thing to be the chairman of the school committee." (p. 4).

"We tried on our own way to go to the parents and tell them education it's their responsibility...they would most of them say in 1968 it's not up to me to educate my child...the priest...or the government...Indian Affairs are there....This attitude is one thing that's really sad you know." (p. 15).

"Indian Act - right now the chief and council are very dependent...it's kind of a cloak...it protects them and they cannot see...it is also a great hindrance...a lot of things, it makes native people very different...perhaps played its card at the beginning...kept the Indian people together... .they do not see that its a hindrance and it does hinder...a lot of things." (p. 16, 17).

Potts, L:

The conflict between the organizations over the status of women...take the whole steam out of their attempts to organize and better their conditions? It has done that. Like I was out at an all Chief's Conference they had not too long ago and I was amazed to find out that since I'd left the council that things hadn't gone a step further. They are still discussing the same old things, (issues about treaties and the Indian Act) nothing from what I could see has been accomplished or done." (p. 27).

"Often there's too much authority even from the Council, the administrators are tied by Indian Affairs also; they (leaders) are caught in the middle, and if they don't have an idea as to what the business is about, they are in trouble...if at least one person in the set up has got an idea of the business functions...it should go on normally and you know the administrator in the meantime depends on the Council as to what was being done and what has not been done and what as intended to be done." (p. 33).

z) A revolutionary leadership must accordingly practice co-intentional education. Teach and students (leader and people) co-intent on reality, are both subjects, not only in the task of unveiling that reality, and thereby coming to know it critically, but in that task of re-creating that knowledge. As they attain this knowledge of reality through common reflection and action, they discover themselves as its permanent re-creators. (Freire, 1968:56).

Cardinal, D:

"Well I would teach a child everything, but first teach him about himself and that is what the Indian way of knowledge is about. It means to help a person discover his own path and to be an individual, and that means that you do not accept knowledge outside yourself. All knowledge is within. It's a different concept of knowledge...like Einstein never got $e = mc^2$ from a book...he got it from within himself. How to teach someone to be able to internalize and draw knowledge from himself from which he can chart his own path and select his own way? And then take the knowledge from outside for information only. Only what is relevant in relationship to what path he is going on is useful information. Never believe in anything other than his own self. Then you are in control of

you life and a free man. One has to deprogram continually and individually." (p. 10).

Leadership comes about by your own evolution...as a free man... not to have fear...live properly and in balance...if you want to become truly in balance you can't seek leadership, it has to follow you, by such experience....that has given you certain responsibilities..." (p. 12).

"Some of them (native leaders) now have understood and are regrouping now and returning to their own communities and they are assisting their people and developing leaders (strong individuals) among the young people and doing a lot of ground work. So native leaders start taking over their own education facilities, and their own communities and their own programs and their own points of view and their own religions...now they are starting to grasp a whole new outlook...their own economic systems and their own industries. So then true leadership is coming out where the leaders go back to their own communities. In society...all their moves are absolutely predictable...if you evolved into a warrior in the Indian culture you learn the total hunt predictability...so you learn that society...its entirely predictable and it ceases to be a real problem." (p. 16).

"So you just be yourself." (p. 24).

Wildcat, T:

"Today education in Hobbema as far as Four-Band is zero control and administration, you know....should have been done in a more reserved way. Each band should have understood what education is all about....School committees could be very powerful with the help of the chief and the Council but it is also true that school committees are very powerless. They could have either you know. They could be dictated to as well, as I understand what happened." (p. 4).

"I feel most leaders in native communities, Indian communities are lacking education...you know where people are educated they see the need for improvement." (p. 6).

Potts, L:

"education would be my priority...the children should be made to stay in school...along with a mixture of reasons, the curriculum in Alberta has a lot to do with it as well... Something in the school is not attracting these kids to remain in schoool...a mixture on both sides...the standard wasn't there...they couldn't read...someone had failed them and very miserably." (pp. 8-9).

"We are so busy trying to solve these community problems that the students are left out. We are neglecting the ones that are doing well." (p. 10).

"here in Hobbema we don't have any problems getting money. It is how we spend it...And what we do with what we have... that's where the basic problem lies." (p. 22).

"the thing that happens too is that unfortunately for the men and fortunately for the women, that we have far more women that are educated...so I think it's good that women are taking over the reins, at least one anyway." (p. 24).

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF DATA AND DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

This chapter provides a description of the findings which emerged when different types of analyses were applied to the study data. The first section deals with findings related to the problem of determining if a relationship exists between native leadership and the liberation leadership concepts presented in the Deblois study. The findings are presented for Sections A and B of the Presentation of Data from Chapter IV and the procedures for analyses are discussed. The second section of this chapter deals with findings and analyses procedures related to the sub-problems of the study. The final section discusses the use of an Interpretative re-organization of the liberation leadership concepts based on a single concept that was commonly ordered as to importance by both native groups studied. Basic differences within and between the two native groups were noted and the findings discussed.

FINDINGS

Relating to the Problem

To establish the degree to which a relationship exists between native leadership in Canada and the liberation leadership in Third World Countries, the study made an analysis of the degree to which articulations of the native writers and native interview respondents reflected the selected liberation concepts used in the Deblois study.

In Chapter IV the data selected from the two groups studied was presented under Presentation A - Native Writers and Presentation B - Native Respondents. The articulations of the two groups were floor sorted and matched to the 26 liberation concepts of leadership found in the Deblois study. An Articulation was counted as one articulation by the page number noted at the end of the articulation recorded in Chapter IV.

Working from the raw data presented in Chapter IV, a summary chart of the Frequency of Articulation of Liberation Concepts was made for each of the two groups, native writers and native respondents interviewed. Table I and Table II record the full frequency of articulations to the liberation concepts. The total number of times a liberation concept was articulated by the whole group was recorded. The number of group members making articulations to a liberation concept was also recorded.

The initial finding was that all of the liberation concepts, except concept g, were articulated in some manner by the native writers (Table I). Similarly, all of the liberation concepts, except concept i were articulated in some manner by the native respondents interviewed (Table II).

The frequency of articulations to concepts was extremely varied for both groups studied. The range of frequency of articulations to a concept by native writers was from 0 to 15 (Table I). A similar range of frequency occurred in the articulations to a concept by the native respondents interviewed (Table II: 0 to 14).

The number of group members making the articulations to a concept varied widely. For the native writers, two concepts, d and s were

TABLE 1

Frequency of Articulation of Liberation Concepts by Native Writers

Deblois, 1976:101-106	Liberation Concepts a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z
Adams, Howard Prison of Grass, 1975		3		3								2	4			1			1					7		
Campbell, Maria Halfbreed, 1973				4		1				1	2	1	1					1	3					2	1	
Cardinal, Harold Rebirth of Canada's Indians, 1975	1		1	2	1	3		4			2	2	1	1		2	4	1	2	1	2	6		4	1	3
Manuel, George The Fourth World, 1974	2	2	2	4	1	3		2	3	1	3			3	1	1		2	2	2	7	9	4		6	12
Total number of times a concept was articulated	3	5	3	13	2	7	0	6	3	2	7	5	6	4	1	4	4	4	8	3	9	15	4	13	8	15
Number of Writers	2	2	2	4	2	3	0	2	1	2	3	3	3	2	1	3	1	3	4	2	2	2	1	3	3	2

TABLE II

Frequency of Articulation of Liberation Concepts by Native Respondents Interviewed

	Liberation Concepts																										
Deblois, 1976:101-106	a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	p	q	r	s	t	u	v	w	x	y	z
Shank, S.	4	1	1			5	3	1		4		4		1	1		2			3	1	5				4
Cardinal, D.		1	1		1	3		1		1	2		1		1							1	1	2	3	
Belcourt, H.					1	1					2	1	2	1		4	4		1			1				
Wildcat, T.		1	3	1	1	2				1						1	2			1					4	2
Potts, L.	1	1			2	3		1						4			2	4				2	1		2	2
Total Times a concept is articulated	5	4	5	1	5	14	3	3	0	6	4	5	3	6	2	5	10	4	1	4	1	9	2	2	9	8
Number of Respondents	2	4	3	1	4	5	1	3	0	3	2	2	2	3	2	2	4	1	1	2	1	4	2	1	3	3

articulated by all four group members and four concepts were articulated by one member only (Table I). For the native respondents interviewed, one concept, f, was highly articulated (14 times) by all group members (5) and six concepts were articulated by one member only (Table II).

It must be noted at this point that the researcher is dealing with very gross treatment of soft data as outlined in the limitations and delimitations of this study. The acceptance of the liberation concepts as presented with differences in levels of abstraction and content overlap precludes the notion that differences in frequency of articulation occurrance are reflecting real differences in points of view within the two groups studied. The softness of articulation strength should also be noted. The choice of articulations that address a liberation concept are subject to differences in abstraction level which may narrow or broaden the connection to the concept addressed. The connection between the articulation and the concept may also have been in the dialectic mode. This is to say that when an articulation denies or affirms the liberation concept being addressed the articulation was accepted in analysis of the raw data as evidence of the existence of the liberation concept in the field of native leadership or the denial or affirmation of the concept could not be noted.

Consequently this study continued with analyses of the whole body of data and any reduction occurring is not a loss of data but a means of highlighting the information contained in the study.

Tables I and II summarize the raw data presented in Chapter IV as the Frequency of Articulation of Liberation Concepts by the native writers and the native respondents interviewed.

Tables III and IV rank the frequency of articulations of liberation concepts by both groups to display the salience of the liberation concepts within each group. Table III for native writers, and Table IV for native respondents interviewed record the articulations made to a concept from highest to lowest occurring frequency in relation to the maximum to minimum number of group members making the articulations.

The information ranked in Tables III and IV came from the two bottom rows of Tables I and II. The number of writers and respondents making the articulation was ranked in descending order and the total times a concept was articulated was ranked in descending order as they matched the number of persons making them. The appropriate concept addressed was recorded.

Salience is the visibility of the liberation concepts in the data on Native Leadership. Salience is displayed from the ranked frequency of articulation in proportion to the number of group members making the articulations (Tables III and IV).

Table III for native writers indicates that all the writers (4 of them) address concepts d and s. Concept d is articulated 13 times in the data and concept s is articulated 8 times. Three out of four writers address 6 concepts with a variation in articulation from 13 times to concept x to 4 times to concepts p and r. Concepts p and r receive an identical order of salience or visibility within this group because the same number of articulations has been made by the same number of group members. Half of the writers (2 out of 4) address 11 (out of 26) concepts with a variation in articulation of 15 times to concepts v an z to twice for concepts e and j. This group (half the writers) had more identical ordering of salience of concepts than the

TABLE III

Salience of Liberation Concepts from
Ranked Frequency of Articulation by Native Writers

Frequency of Articulations (highest to lowest)	Writers (max. to min.)	Concept
13	4	d
8	4	s
13	3	x
8	3	y
7	3	f
7	3	k
6	3	m
5	3	l
4	3	p
4	3	r
15	2	v
15	2	z
9	2	u
6	2	h
5	2	b
4	2	n
3	2	a
3	2	c
3	2	t
2	2	e
2	2	j
4	1	q
4	1	w
3	1	i
1	1	o
0	0	g

TABLE IV

Salience of Liberation Concepts from Ranked Frequency of Articulation by Native Respondents Interviewed

Frequency Articulation (highest to lowest)	Number of Respondents (max. to min.)	Concept
14	5	f
10	4	q
9	4	v
5	4	e
4	4	b
9	3	y
8	3	z
6	3	j
6	3	n
5	3	c
3	3	h
5	2	a
5	2	l
5	2	p
4	2	k
4	2	t
3	2	m
2	2	o
2	2	w
4	1	r
3	1	g
2	1	x
1	1	d
1	1	s
1	1	u
0	0	i

two previous sub-groups. They order concepts v and z with 15 articulations, and a, c and t with 3 articulations. One writer within the group addresses concepts q, w, l and o. Concepts q and w, l and o, have an identical order of salience of 4 articulations by one group member. Concept g has no salience or visibility in this group because it is not articulated by any writer.

Table IV for native respondents interviewed indicates that all of the respondents (5 of them) address concept f which is articulated in the data 14 times. Four out of five respondents address 4 concepts (q, v, e, b) but with varying order of salience for each concept. Three out of five respondents address 6 concepts (y, e, h, n, c, h) with concepts j and n receiving an identical ordering of salience within this sub-group. J and n are articulated 6 times by 3 group members. Two out of five respondents address 8 concepts (a, l, p, k, t, m, ó, w) with three sets of concepts receiving identical ordering of salience within this sub-group. Concepts a, l, p are articulated 5 times each by 2 group members. Concepts k and t are articulated 4 times each by 2 group members and concepts o and w are articulated twice each by w group members. Six concepts (r, g, x, d, s, u) are addressed by one group member with concepts d, s and u each receiving an identical ordering of salience of 1 articulation by 1 group member. Concept i has no salience or visibility in this group because it is not articulated in the data by any respondent.

Tables III and IV rank the frequency of articulations made to liberation concepts and indicate that the ordering of salience of concepts is controlled by the number of writers and respondents making the articulations. Only identical saliences can be read from Tables

III and IV. The order of salience simply means the number of persons who made the articulations in proportion to the frequency of articulations that occur determines how salient or visible the liberation concept was in this set of data.

The number of persons making the articulations acted as an independent variable controlling the variations in articulations by the number of persons making them. The salience of concepts displayed in Tables II and IV cannot be interpreted as being the importance of the liberation concepts to native leadership at this stage of analysis because an ordering of salience cannot be determined between non-identical saliences.

However Tables III and IV are an accurate statement of the nature of the data presented in Chapter IV or summarized in Tables I and II. Tables III and IV display the salience or visibility of the liberation concept contained in the data of the two groups studied. Salience or the visibility is an expression of a ratio relationship between the frequency of articulations made by the number of persons who made them. Some writers and respondents are more highly articulate than others. Consequently the salience of liberation concepts could be ordered for each group member using the rank order of number of articulations to the concepts made by one group member.

Tables V and VI rank the frequency of articulations of liberation concepts by each member within both groups studied to display the variations in salience of the liberation concepts. The rank order of a concept for each group member is the frequency with which he/she articulated the concept in descending order of occurrence. The concept articulated most often by one person is rank ordered first in salience

TABLE V

Variations in Salience of Liberation Concepts for Each Native Writer

Name	Frequency of Articulation	Concept (max. 26)	Rank Order of Frequency of Concept for Writer (Salience of Concept)
Adams, H.	7	x	1
	4	m	2
	3	b,d	3
	2	l	4
	1	p,s	5
Total		7	
Campbell, M.	4	d	1
	3	s	2
	2	k, x	3
	1	f,j,l,m,r,y	4
Total		10	
Cardinal, H.	6	v	1
	4	h,q,x	2
	3	f,z	3
	2	d,k,l,p,s,u	4
	1	a,c,e,m,n,r,t,y	5
Total		20	
Manuel, G.	12	z	1
	9	v	2
	7	u	3
	6	y	4
	4	d,w	5
	3	f,i,k,n	6
	2	a,b,c,h,r,s,t	7
	1	e,j,o.p	8
Total		21	

TABLE VI

Variations in Salience of Liberation Concepts
for Each Native Respondent Interviewed

Name	Frequency of Articulation	Concept (max. 26)	Rank Order of Frequency of Concept for Respondent (Salience of Concept)
Shank, S.	5	f, v	1
	4	a, j, l, z	2
	3	g, t	3
	2	q	4
	1	b, c, h, n, o, u	5
Total		15	
Cardinal, D.	3	f, y	1
	2	k, x	2
	1	b, c, e, h, j, m, o, v, w	3
Total		13	
Belcourt, H.	4	p, q	1
	2	k, m	2
	1	e, f, l, n, s, v	3
Total		10	
Wildcat, T.	4	y	1
	3	b	2
	2	f, q, z	3
	1	a, d, e, j, p, t	4
Total		11	
Potts, L.	4	n, r	1
	3	f	2
	2	e, q, v, y, z	3
	1	a, b, h, w	4
Total		12	

for that person. The number in Tables V and VI for frequency of articulation matched to a concept for each prson are placed in descending order from information in Tables I and II. The total number of liberation concepts addressed by each group member was recorded and the Rank Order of Concepts for each person was noted in Tables V and VI.

Table V shows that the rank order of concepts for each native writer varied. The range between writers was from 1 to 4, 1 to 5, and 1 to 8 for their input into the Rank Order of Concepts. The total number of concepts articulated by each native writer varied. The range between writers was 7, 10, 20 and 21 liberation concepts addressed by their articulations.

Table VI shows that the Rank Order of Concepts for each native respondent interviewed varied. The range between respondents was from 1 to 3, 1 to 4, and 1 to 5 for their input into the Rank Order of Concepts. The total number of concepts articulated by each interview respondent varied. The range between respondents was 10, 11, 12, 13 and 15 liberation concepts addressed by their articulations.

The Rank Order of the Concept for each writer and respondent in Tables V and VI is the rank ordering of the salience of the liberation concepts because it matches or re-labels the ranked frequency of articulations of a concept by each prson in the group making the articulation. The process used in Tables V and VI is the same as in Tables III and IV, but in using the ratio relationship of frequency of articulation by one group member only in Tables V and VI, all saliences of liberation concepts for each group member were ranked. In Tables V and VI all identical and non-identical saliences of liberation concepts have a rank order recorded.

The total number of liberation concepts addressed by the articulations of each member of each group found in Tables V and VI, record the relative contribution of the individual's articulations to the data of the study. In Table V for the native writers, the group member with the highest contribution of articulations to the study, contributed to 21 liberation concepts out of a possible 26. The member with the least contribution of articulations to the study, within the native writers group, contributed to 7 liberation concepts. In Table VI for the native respondents interviewed, the highest contribution of articulations by a member was to 15 concepts out of a possible 26. The lowest contribution by a member for this group was to 10 liberation concepts.

The spread of contributions of articulations to the study data by the members of the native respondents interviewed (Table VI) was more moderate than that of the members of the native writer's group (Table V).

The more extreme spread of contributions of articulations that appear to address the liberation concepts made by the native writers is probably a reflection of shaped written thought and of the major thrust or emphasis of their books. The more moderate and closer range of the contributions of articulations that appear to address the liberation concepts made by the native respondents interviewed is probably a reflection of unshaped consciousness or perception of leadership experiences captured in a moment of recent time during the interview.

Tables VII and VIII profile the variations in the Rank Order of liberation concepts for each member of each group using the data from Tables V and VI but arranging the liberation concepts in alphabetical order. These tables present the identical and non-identical saliences

TABLE VII

The Native Writers Profile of Variations in Rank Order of Liberation Concepts (From Table V)

Concept	Adams, H.	Campbell, M.	Cardinal, H.	Manuel, G.
a			5	7
b	3			7
c			5	7
d	3	1	4	5
e			5	8
f		4	3	6
g				
h			2	7
i				6
j		4		8
k			4	6
l	4	4	4	
m	2	4	5	
n			5	6
o				8
p	5		4	8
q			2	
r		4	5	7
s	5	2	4	7
t			5	7
u			4	3
v			1	2
w				5
x	1	3	2	
y		4	5	4
z			3	1
Total of Ranked Contributions to Salience	23	30	77	138
Total Number of Concepts Addressed (Table V)	7	10	20	21
Writer Ratios of Salience of Ordering to Concepts	3.29	3.0	3.85	6.57

TABLE VIII

The Native Respondents Profile of Variations in the Rank Order of Liberation Concepts (From Table VI)

Concept	Shank	Cardinal	Belcourt	Wildcat	Potts
a	2			4	4
b	5	3		2	4
c	5	3			
d				4	
e		3	3	4	3
f	1	1	3	3	2
g	3				
h	5	3			4
i					
j	2	3		4	5
k		2	2		
l	2		3		
m		3	2		
n	5		3		1
o	5	3			
p			1	4	
q	4		1	3	3
r					1
s			3		
t	3		4		
u	5				
v	1	3	3		3
w		3			4
x		2			
y		1		1	3
z	2			3	
Total of Ranked Contributions to Salience	50	33	24	38	35
Total Number of Concepts Addressed (Table VI)	15	13	10	11	12
Respondent Ratios of Salience of Ordering to Concepts	3.33	2.53	2.40	3.45	2.91

of liberation concepts in rank order for each member within their group for noting in-group and across-group similarities and contrasts. The ranked saliences of the concepts for each group member were totalled to note their ranked contribution of articulation frequency to concept salience. The total number of concepts addressed by each group member was brought forward from Tables V and VI. The number of concepts addressed by each group member was divided into the total of ranked saliences (Rank Order of Concept based upon the individual's order of articulation frequency) contributed by each member to the data to derive an individual ratio of Salience of Ordering to the concepts. This ratio relfects the degree of articulateness for each member within a group toward the ranked order or salience accorded the liberation concepts as a whole.

In Table VII for the native writers, the most articulate native writer made a contribution of 138:21. His rank ordering or additions to the salience of the concepts total 138 and were addressed to 21 concepts. His ratio is 6.57. The least articulate writer makes a contribution of ranking to the salience of concepts that is 23:7. His ratio is 3.29. Comparison of the ratios 6.57:3.29 indicate that the writer with 6.57 ratio is about two-thirds more than that of the writer contributing a ratio of 3.9. The writer with 6.57 has added or influenced the study data with two-thirds more impact than that of the writer with the 3.9 ratio.

The usefulness of Rank Ordering Salience of contribution by one person was revealed in Table VII when it is noted that the ratio portion of rank ordered saliences by number of concepts addressed by one person has an impact on assessing the overall contribution a person

makes to the study data. 23:7 yields 3.29, 30:10 yields 3.0, 77:20 yields 3.85 and 138:21 yields 6.57. For the native writer's group, one person impacted the study data two-thirds to twice as much as any of the other three members. The 23:7 and 138:21 members' writings were shaped towards the liberation literature, one through critical analysis in terms of Friere (23:7), the other through a conscious description of native leadership and the recording of his experiences and aspirations (138:21). The group members, 30:10 and 77:20 had slightly less data impact due to the fact that while they addressed more liberation concepts than member 23:7, the number of concepts addressed were rank ordered of lower salience to them (4th or 5th) and more identical rankings of concepts occurred at those lower saliences.

In Table VIII for the native respondents, the differences in articulateness made towards the liberation concepts between group members were much more moderate than for the native writer's group (Table VII).

No one member of the native respondent group impacted the study data for their group considerably more than the others.

The range of ranked contributions to salience of concepts to the number of concepts addressed was from 50:15, 38:11, 35:12, 33:13, 24:10 which yielded corresponding ratios of a Salience of Ordering to liberation concepts addressed of 3.33, 3.45, 2.91, 2.53, 2.40.

The usefulness of the Respondent ratios of Salience of Ordering to Concepts was that the degree of influence of a member's ranking of articulations to a liberation concept could be compared to the inputs to the study data of other members in the group. The ratios in Tables VII and VIII provide an order or degree of relative input by the group

members. In Table VIII the ratio range is from 2.40 to 3.45. Two group members contributed 50:15 and 38:11. The ratios of 3.45 and 3.33 for these two members indicate that the contribution of 50:15 is slightly larger than that of 38:11.

The least ratios of salience of ordering to concepts for the native respondents was 2.40. Thus if, any native respondent had twice the input into the study data over the other group members a ratio of 4.8 could be expected. The distance between 2.40 and 4.80 is 2.40. One half of 2.40 is 1.20. Thus if any group member has a ratio 1.2 above 2.4 or 3.6, then that member would have contributed half again as much to the study data as the member with the 2.4 ratio. Similarly 2.4 and .60 equals 3.0 or one-quarter more; 3.0 + .6 equals one-half, etc. In Table VIII, no ratio exceeds 3.45, and no group member contributed half again as much to the data as any other respondent group member.

In Table VIII, for the native respondents, two out of three group members contributed more than one-quarter more to the study data than the others. Three out of five members were very close in the degree of input they made to the study data in terms of their input to the ranked saliences of the liberation concepts.

In Table VII, for the native writers, the range for the Writer's Ratios of Salience of Ordering to the liberation concepts was from 3.0 to 6.57, a real distance of 3.57. When the least ratio is 3.0; twice that ratio is 6.0; one half more is 4.5. If one were estimating in thirds; 3.0 is one input, 4.0 is one-third more; 5.0 is two-thirds more and 6.0 is twice as much. Now, the ratios from Table VII were 3.0, 3.29, 3.85 and 6.57. The real ratio 3.85 was extremely close to 4.0 and this indicates an input ratio that is one-third more than 3.0, the

least writer input, and that 6.57 is two-thirds more than 3.85. This is to say that the most articulate native writer with the ratio 6.57 impacted the input to the study data for his group by more than twice as much as the least articulate writers (3.0 and 3.29) and by about two-thirds more than the other writer having a ratios of 3.85.

Summary of Analysis Relating to the Problem

The analyses of the study data through the Tables I to IV have established that there is a relationship between the articulations of the native writers and native respondents interviewed and the liberation concepts relating to Liberation Leadership selected from the Deblois study.

Tables I and II record the Frequency of Articulations made to the 26 liberation concepts selected from the Deblois study. The total number of times a concept was articulated was recorded. The total numbers of native writers (Table I) and native respondents interviewed (Table II) making the particular frequency of articulation to a concept were recorded.

The finding that all liberation concepts, except concept g for native writers (Table I) and concept i for native respondents (Table II), were articulated in some manner by both groups studied. The degree of frequency of articulations was widely varied and the number of group members making the articulations from concept to concept varied.

Tables III and IV were the first ranking procedure applied to the summary of study data recorded in Tables I and II for the native writers and native respondent groups studied. The number of members in

each group was stable or set, but the number of articulations made to the liberation concepts was a volatile factor. The number of group members actually making the particular frequency of articulation to a concept was also volatile as no limits were made in the study. The visibility or salience of the liberation concepts in the study data recorded in Tables I and II, could be ranked from the totals, in Tables I and II, of numbers of group members making the frequencies of articulations to the liberation concepts.

Table III and IV show the Salience of Liberation Concepts from the Ranked Frequency of Articulation for each group, the native writers and the native respondents.

The finding was that the number of writers and respondents making the frequency of articulation to the liberation concepts controlled the salience or visibility of the liberation concepts within the data in a ratio relationship. Table III and IV revealed identical saliences of liberation concepts within the group but could provide no insight to the importance or ordering of non-identical saliences of liberation concepts within the group. The direction this finding gave the researcher was that Tables II and III were an accurate description of the nature of the data presented in Chapter IV of the thesis. If the number of group members control the saliences of the liberation concepts and Tables III and IV reveal identical saliences for the whole sub-group making the frequency of articulation, then if the number of group members were one, then the same ranking procedures (Tables II-IV) used for ranking the frequency of articulation made by each group member to the liberation concepts would reveal the identical saliences of concepts for that one person as well as order his non-identical

saliences. This was done in Tables V and VI for each individual writer and respondent in the study. The data from Tables I and II were ranked from highest Frequency of Articulation to lowest for that one writer or respondent, the appropriate concept noted and a Rank Order of Concept for that member was assigned. The Rank Order of Concepts assigned for each writer or respondent was also the Salience of the concept for that person.

The total number of liberation concepts each writer and respondent addressed was recorded also on Tables V and VI.

Tables VII and VIII re-arrange the liberation concepts into alphabetical order as in the Presentation of Data in Chapter IV and in Tables I and II. The Rank Order of Concepts (Salience of Concepts for each individual in the study) assigned in Tables V and VI were brought forward in appropriate order to the concept addressed by each writer and respondent.

The ranks were totalled for each writer and each respondent within this group to reveal their total of Rank Ordered Contributions to the Salience of the Concepts. The total number of liberation concepts addressed by each member was brought forward from Tables V and VI and was divided into the total of Rank Order Contributions to the Salience of Concepts. The ratios obtained were labelled the Ratio of Salience of Ordering to the Concepts. This ratio provides information as to the relative impact each group member has made through his ranking of Salience of Concepts upon the study data.

Summary of Findings Related to the Problem

The findings have been that there is a definite relationship between the articulations of the two native groups studied and the liberation concepts selected in the Deblois sudy. The analysis of the frequency of articulations to the liberation concepts by each of the group members enabled the salience of the liberation concepts for each group member to be highlighted, charted and profiled for each member of each group through a rank ordering procedure. The relative contribution of articulations by each group member was examined in terms of their contributions to the salience of the liberation concepts in relation to the input of other members within each group.

Discussion of Analysis and Findings Relating to the Sub-Problems

The rank ordering of liberation concepts for each member of each group presents the salience of visibility of the concepts for each member of each group. The basis of the rank ordering procedure was the frequency of articulations made to a concept in proportion to one individual making the articulation.

To contrast the differences in the importance of certain liberation concepts within and across the two groups studied was the second major task of the study.

The nature of the data displayed in Tables III and IV, where the variation in the number of group members occurs as well as the variations in frequency of articulations being made by the varied numbers of group members, was still reflected in Tables VII and VIII. The saliences of liberation concepts have all been rank ordered and match

the ranked frequency of articulations to the liberation concepts by each member of each group.

To examine within group differences and any possible across group contrasts, the variation in the numbers of group members making the Ordering of Saliences of the liberation concepts requires the use of an inverse valuation system of numerals that will reflect the nature of the data yet make liberation concept highlighting possible as to their real importance within the groups studied and enable contrasts of differences in liberation concept importance to be made across the two groups studied.

In Tables VII for example concept a was rank ordered 5th by 1 person and 7th by 1 person, in contrast to concept p which was rank ordered 5th by 1 person, 4th by 1 person, and 8th by 1 person. A rank ordering of a concept as 8th in order was the lowest possible ranking assigned to any concepts in Table VII or VIII. The range of rank ordering was from 1 to 8 in Table VII and 1 to 5 in Table VIII. Any concept ranked 1 was first order of importance to one group member. The inverse valuation system of numerals would give a weight of 10 to a rank of 1 and a weight of 3 to a rank of 8.

Thus in the example from Table VII where concept a is rank ordered 5th by 1 person, 7th by 1 person, for the writer's group, the conversion pattern used to derive some measure of relative importance of concept a for this group would be:

Concept a: Number of members times the Rank order equals the number of members times the Value Assigned to Rank Order.

or:

a. 1 x 5 = 1 x 6
1 x 7 = 1 x 4
Total 10

Concept p in Table VII is rank ordered 5th by 1 person, 4th by 1 person, and 8th by 1 person and the conversion pattern would be:

p. 1 x 5 = 1 x 6
1 x 4 = 1 x 7
1 x 8 = 1 x 3
Total 16

Concept p has a valuation of 16 to contrast with Concept a, which has a valuation of 10. Concept p could be deemed to be of more importance within the group than concept a.

Use of Inverse Valuation

An Inverse Valuation system of numerals has the utility of providing for variations in salience of concepts to the individual and recognizes the influence of variations in the number of persons having varied saliences to the concept. The conversion procedure will be to multiply the valuation by the number of persons expressing the particular salience (Rank Order of Concepts) because of the ratio relationship inherent in the data.

The Inverse Valuation system used was from 10 to 0 for corresponding Rank Order of Concepts by one person from 1st to 10th. The range of Rank Order of Concepts in Tables V and VI and VII and VIII were from 1st to 8th and 1st to 5th. The Valuations assigned to the Rank Order of Concepts were as follows:

Rank Order		Corresponding Inverse Valuation
1	=	10
2	=	9
3	=	8
4	=	7
5	=	6
6	=	5
7	=	4
8	=	3

Table IX provides the calculations, or the conversion pattern, for the inverse valuation of the rank order (Salience) of the liberation concepts by the number of group members who made the articulations to a particular concept. The calculations began with the data for each concept recorded in Tables VII and VIII. A notation of that data was made. Then the inverse Valuation of rank order was assigned and a total valuation of the data ranked to each concept was recorded for each group studied.

Table X summarizes the totals of the inverse valuation procedure done in Table IX. In Table X the liberation concepts are in alphabetical order. The Valuation of the Writers and the Valuation of Respondents for each liberation concept were the groups total of inverse valuation of the nature of the total of the individual group members ranked ordering of articulations to that liberation concept. When the Valuations of each liberation concept for a group, writers or respondents is arranged in descending order from the highest valuation to the lowest then the relative importance of a liberation concept for a group may be viewed.

TABLE IX

Calculations for Inverse Valuation of
Rank Order of Liberation Concepts

Code: The notation 1(2) reads one writer/respondent rank orders 2nd. The notation 1 x 9 is equivalent to 1(2). The valuation is: (1) = 10, (2) = 0, (3) = 8, (4) = 7, (5) = 6, (6) = 5, (7) = 4, (8) = 3.

Follows: From Tables VII and VIII.

Concept	Writers (From Table VII)	Respondent (From Table VIII)
a.	1(7) or 1 x 4	1(2) or 1 x 9 or 9 2(4) 2 x 7 + 14
	Total 10	Total 23
b.	1(3) or 1 x 8 1(7) or 1 x 4	1(2) or 1 x 9 1(3) or 1 x 8 1(4) or 1 x 7 1(5) or 1 x 6
	Total 12	Total 30
c.	1(5) or 1 x 6 1(7) or 1 x 4	1(3) or 1 x 8 1(5) or 1 x 6
	Total 10	Total 14
d.	1(1) or 1 x 10 1(3) or 1 x 8 1(4) or 1 x 7 1(5) or 1 x 6	1(4) or 1 x 7
	Total 31	Total 7
e.	1(5) or 1 x 6 1(8) or 1 x 3	3(3) or 3 x 8 = 24 1(4) or 1 x 7 = 7
	Total 9	Total 31
f.	1(3) or 1 x 8 1(4) or 1 x 7 1(6) or 1 x 5	2(1) or 2 x 10 = 20 1(2) or 1 x 9 = 9 2(3) or 2 x 8 = 16
	Total 20	Total 45

TABLE IX (continued)

Concept	Writers	Respondent
g.	-	1(3) or 1 x 8
		Total 8
h.	1(2) or 1 x 9 1(7) or 1 x 4	1(3) or 1 x 8 1(4) or 1 x 7 1(5) or 1 x 6
	Total 13	Total 21
i.	1(6) or 1 x 5	-
	Total 5	
j.	1(4) or 1 x 7 1(8) or 1 x 3	1(2) or 1 x 9 1(3) or 1 x 8 1(4) or 1 x 7
	Total 10	Total 24
k.	1(4) or 1 x 7 1(6) or 1 x 5	2(2) or 2 x 9
	Total 12	Total 18
l.	3(4) or 3 x 7	1(2) or 1 x 9 1(3) or 1 x 8
	Total 21	Total 17
m.	1(2) or 1 x 9 1(4) or 1 x 7 1(5) or 1 x 6	1(2) or 1 x 9 1(3) or 1 x 8
	Total 22	Total 17
n.	1(5) or 1 x 6 1(6) or 1 x 5	1(1) or 1 x 10 1(3) or 1 x 8 1(5) or 1 x 6
	Total 11	Total 24
o.	1(8) or 1 x 3	1(3) or 1 x 8 1(5) or 1 x 6
	Total 3	Total 14
p.	1(4) or 1 x 7 1(5) or 1 x 6 1(8) or 1 x 3	1(1) or 1 x 10 1(4) or 1 x 7
	Total	Total 17

TABLE IX (continued)

Concept	Writers	Respondent
q.	1(2) or 1 x 9	1(1) or 1 x 10 2(3) or 2 x 8 1(4) or 1 x 7
	Total 9	Total 33
r.	1(4) or 1 x 7 1(5) or 1 x 6 1(7) or 1 x 4	1(1) or 1 x 10
	Total 17	Total 10
s.	1(2) or 1 x 9 1(4) or 1 x 7 1(5) or 1 x 6 1(7) or 1 x 4	1(3) or 1 x 8
	Total 26	Total 8
t.	1(5) or 1 x 6 1(7) or 1 x 4	1(3) or 1 x 8 1(4) or 1 x 7
	Total 10	Total 15
u.	1(3) or 1 x 8 1(4) or 1 x 7	1(5) or 1 x 6
	Total 15	Total 6
v.	1(2) or 1 x 10 1(2) or 1 x 9	1(1) or 1 x 10 3(3) or 3 x 8
	Total 19	Total 34
w.	1(5) or 1 x 6	1(3) or 1 x 8 1(4) or 1 x 7
	Total 6	Total 15
x.	1(1) or 1 x 10 1(2) or 1 x 9 1(3) or 1 x 8	1(2) or 1 x 9
	Total 27	Total 9
y.	2(4) or 2 x 7 1(5) or 1 x 6	2(1) or 2 x 10 1(3) or 1 x 8
	Total 20	Total 28
z.	1(1) or 1 x 10 1(3) or 1 x 8	1(2) or 1 x 9 2(3) or 2 x 8
	Total 18	Total 25

TABLE X

The Inverse Valuation of Writer and Respondent Profile of Variations in Rank Order of Liberation Concepts

Concept	Valuation of Writers	Valuation of Respondents
a	12	23
b	12	30
c	10	14
d	31	7
e	9	31
f	20	45
g	-	8
h	13	21
i	5	-
j	10	24
k	12	18
l	21	17
m	22	17
n	11	24
o	3	14
p	16	17
q	9	33
r	17	10
s	26	8
t	10	15
u	15	6
v	19	34
w	6	15
x	27	9
y	20	28
z	18	25

Table XI presents the ordering of the valuations assigned to a liberation concept by each group in the study. The data from Table X have been ordered in Table XI to show the Ordered Importance of Liberation Concepts articulated within the native writers and the native respondent's groups. The ordering of the valuations was done within the groups. The size of a particular valuation had use only for ordering the concepts within a group. No matching of valuation assigned could be made across the two groups studied (Siegel, 1956).

Once the valuations are ordered within a group, the order of the appropriate liberation concepts for the group become fixed or viewable. Contrasts can be made across the native writers and the native respondents groups as to the differences and similarities in the order of importance a liberation concept has received.

Findings Related To The Sub-Problems

Table XI indicates that there are few matches between the native writers and the native respondents interviewed as to the order of importance of the liberation concepts. In Table XI only one concept order of importance is common to both groups. Concept y is 6th in order of importance to both groups. For the native writers, concepts d, x, s, m, l and f, y were ordered from 1st to 6th order of importance. For the native respondents, concepts f, v, q, e, b, and y were ordered from 1st to 6th order of importance.

In the cluster of concepts rated 1st to 6th in order of importance for both groups only concepts f and y are common to both groups. Concept y is ordered 6th by both groups whereas concept f is rated first by the native respondents interviewed and sixth by the native writers along with concept y.

TABLE XI

Ordered Importance of Liberation Concepts Articulated

Order	Writers Concept	Valuation (max. to min. From Table X)	Respondents Concept	Valuation (max. to min. From Table X)
1	d	31	f	45
2	x	27	v	34
3	s	26	q	33
4	m	22	e	31
5	l	21	b	30
6	f,y	20	y	28
7	v	19	z	25
8	z	18	n,j	24
9	r	17	a	23
10	p	16	h	21
11	u	15	k	18
12	h	13	l,m,p	17
13	b,k	12	t,w	15
14	n	11	c,o	14
15	a,c,t,j	10	r	10
16	e,q	9	x	9
17	w	6	g,s	6
18	i	5	d	7
19	o	3	u	6
20	g	0	i	0

In the cluster of liberation concepts rated first to tenth in order of importance by both groups only concepts f and y and v were common. Concept v was rated 7th by the native writers and 2nd by the native respondents.

In the order of importance of concepts for the native writers from 1st to 5th for concepts d, x, s, m and l, the importance of these concepts to the native respondents ranged from 18th to 12th order. This suggested a difference in emphasis of importance of certain liberation concepts had occurred in the study data between the native writers and the native respondents interviewed. The nature of the content of the liberation concepts had not been examined in this study because the researcher had primarily been trying to establish if a relationship between liberation literature and native leadership exists.

However to be able to examine the data for real differences in articulation by the native writers and native respondents that may reflect different points of view or to examine the possibility that differences in degree of intensity of articulation by the two groups may not be reflecting real differences at all, given the nature of the liberation concepts selected from the Deblois study, it was useful to consider the commonalities found in the analysis to this point.

The inverse valuation of the rank order or salience of the liberation concepts for each indivdiual's articulations had enabled the researcher to order the importance of a concept for the group from the data of the study.

If the liberation concepts were to be examined for conceptual overlap, re-statement with additions, and differences in abstraction level, the valuation ordering the relative importance of a concept

could be re-applied as any shifts to concept organization would be a shift in the same direction for both groups studied.

Interpretative Analysis and Findings

If the liberation concepts contain conceptual overlapping, re-statement of similar ideas at different levels of abstraction, then an examination of what each of the 26 concepts selected from the Deblois study says and does would necessarily collapse the number of ideas or constructs the study articulations address. The original statement of concepts was valued as to importance of the concept for each of the two groups studied. When the concepts are reduced and overlaps noted, the valuation of the concepts would be shifted appropriately but the size of the valuations grouped to the re-organization of major constructs would increase numerically but still be useful to show major differences within and across groups to the constructs addressed.

The starting point for conceptual examination of the liberation concepts used in this study would be the Ordered Importance of Concepts contained in Table XI. Both groups, the native writers and the native respondents interviewed shared one common ordering of importance to concept y. This item was of equal importance to both groups.

The criteria by which concept y and the other 25 liberation concepts were examined were two questions:

1. What does the concept say?
2. What does the statement of the concept do?

The interpretation of the commonly ordered concept y is presented next. This is followed by a trial run presentation of the liberation concept statements as they match the Order of Importance to each group in Table XI, from the Order of Importance of the concepts from 1 to 6. Then the Initial Interpretative Constrast of what the concepts ordered from 1 to 6 do, is presented for both groups. Finally an Interpretative Synthesis of how well concept y serves as an organizing concept for the concepts ordered from 1 to 6 is presented.

Concept y) In the conscientization process the educator has the right, as a person, to have options. What she/he does not have is the right to impose them. To do this is to prescribe these options for others. To prescribe is to manipulate, to manipulate is to reify and to reify is to establish a relationship of domestication.

(Freire, 1973:149)

Interpretation

In Concept 7, the words educator and leader are interchangeable. The leader is at once a person, individual in his own right and has a relationship to a group (people set of students, or persons in an organization). This concept specifies the nature of the leaders relationships to others. It specifies the leader-people relationship by what the relationship is not. This specification is made because the people object to the means. The protest is made against the means of manipulation and prescription by the leader or educator because these means reifies the external reality and the person of the leader setting him apart from the people and giving one or few persons a godlike position over the lives of the others. The people on the other hand under the means of manipulation and prescription become manipu-

lated objects, a position that denies the humanity of the others (people) and reduces them to a non-thinking order of existance which is domestication of man the same as the condition of domestication of animals. Under these means within the leader (educator) - people relationship the others (people) lack control over their lives and may be unaware of their personal options. These means will establish continued lack of control and unawareness.

Thus Concept y affirms the leader as a subject and a person but denies any means that places others in an object position. The implication in concept y is that the leader (educator) is subject himself and subject also with other subjects (the others). Here the leader's role is specified in concept y by what it is not.

One could summarize this interpretation of concept y by what it does. It does four things which may be viewed as four major constructs (ideas).

Concept y)

1. Specifies the leader/people relationship by what it is not.
2. Denies the means of leadership by manipuluation or prescription.
3. Denies the object position for the people as domestication.
4. Specifies the leader's role by what it is not.

Interpretative Trial-Run

The Order of Importance of the concepts from 1st to 6th Order for native writers and then for the native respondents interviewed was approached in the same manner as concept y was examined. Each are

examined for what the concept says and then for what the concept does under the section Initial Interpretative Contrast.

Native Writers: Ordered Importance from 1 to 6.

Order	Concept	Context
1	d	The leader's pursuit of unity is necessarily an attempt to organize the people, requiring witness to the fact that the struggle for liberation is a common task. (Freire, 1968:176).
2	x	If the revolutionary leaders manipulate them (people) instead of working towards their conscientization, the very objective of organization (that is liberation) is negated. (Freire, 1968:178).
3	s	Leaders cannot do anything for the people. We can only provide the necessary information, guidance and organization for the people to build their own country for themselves. Leaders have to know the reality of our present position and then to show the people how by own effort, we can change the present poverty into something better. (Nyerere, 1968:157).
4	m	The populist leader...is an ambiguous being, an "amphibian" who lives in two elements. Shuttling back and forth between the people and the dominant oligarchies, he bears the marks of both groups. Since the populist leader simply manipulates, instead of fighting for authentic popular organization, this type of leader serves the revolution little, if at all. (Freire, 1968: 147).
5	l	Attempting to liberate the oppressed without their reflective participation in the act of liberation is to treat them as objects which must be saved from a burning building: it is to lead them into the populist pitfall and transform them into masses which can be manipulated. (Freire, 1968:52).
6	f	Both cultural action and cultural revolution imply communion between the leaders and the people, as subjects who are transforming reality. (Freire, 1968:52 and p. 168).
	y	In the conscientization process the educator has the right, as a person, to have options. What she/he does not have is the right to impose them. To do

this is to prescribe these options for others. To prescribe is to manipulate, to manipulate is to reify and to reify is to establish a relationship of domestication. (Freire, 1973:149).

Native Respondents: Ordered ranking from 1 to 6.

Order	Concept	Context
1	f	Both cultural action and cultural revolution imply communion between the leaders and the people, as subjects who are transforming reality. (Friere, 1968:52).
2	v	Cultural synthesis does not deny the differences between the two views: it is based on these differences. It does not deny the invasion of one by the other, by affirming the undeniable support each gives to the other. (Freire, 1968:183).
3	q	A leader will have the opportunity to explain his ideas and to try to persuade the people that they are good; but it must be for the people themselves to accept or reject his suggestions. It does not matter if the discussion takes a long time. (Nyerere, 1968:135).
4	e	In dialogical action, at no stage can revolutionary action forego communion with the people. (Freire, 1968:171, also p. 52).
5	b	Revolutionary leaders cannot think without the people nor for the people, but only with the people. (Freire, 1968: 126).
6	y	In the conscientization process the educator has the right, as a person to have options. What she/he does not have is the right to impose them. To do this is to prescribe these options for others. To prescribe is to manipulate, to manipulate is to reify and to reify is to establish a relationship of deomestication. (Freire, 1973:149).

Initial Interpretative Contrast: Ordered rankings from 1 to 6

A. Native Writers		B. Native Respondents	
1.	d. Specifies leader's role identification with people in a common struggle to achieve a common goal. Unity of leader and	1	f. Unity between leaders and people. Where people are in the same becoming position as the leader, as subjects transforming reality.

	people for liberation of group.	Specifies leader's role.
2.	x. Denies the <u>means</u> of manipulation to achieve a liberative end. Specified what the leader/people retionship must not be. Denies use of power by leader upon the people Has specific meaning.	2. v. Specifies the leader/people relationship as a shared acceptance to diversity of viewpoints that provide mutual supportive affirmation of each other. Denies the invasion (use of power) of one view upon that of another. Has a specific and global meaning.
3.	s. Specifies the reflective context of the leader's role. Implies that activism by leaders should be formative not summative or paternal.	3. q. Specifies the leader's role as formative and influencing but not summative. It is up to the people to make the decision for reflective action. The process (<u>means</u>) is what is critical not time.
4.	m. Two-hatted leadership or the leader at home in two arenas simply jockeys for position between manipulating and being manipulated, that no liberational cause is served because no authentic stance is made.	4. e. Only singular commitment to dialogical action can be specified. At no stage leading to liberational action can be the leadership forego discussion with the people. An authentic stance is is taken at each stage leading to action.
5.	l. Leadership that rescues the people merely creates a new dependency or a new object position from which they can be manipulated again Specifies that the goal of liberation requires the thoughtful involvement of the people in their own (personal and collective) liberating actions.	5. b. Leaders can only think with the people. Not without them. Nor for them. Without the people, the leader's thinking is his own only. When the leader thinks for them they remain dependent and reduced again to the object position they were in in their original oppressed state. Thus the means of leadership negates the the liberative process or action. This concept requires the thoughtful involvement of the people with their leaders in their won liberating actions.
6.	f. Specifies the subject relationship of the leaders with the people. The communication between the leaders and people allows for co-definition, clarification, co-specification of objectives, and free coincidences of choices.	

6. y. This concept specifies the leaders' relationship to the people. It specifies what the relationship is not. It denies the means of manipulation and prescription. It objects to a reification of the leadership role and position. It claims that men in object positions in a relationship domesticates them leaving them in the same object position of tamed animals. This object position dehumanizes people and is an oppressed position.

Interpretative Synthesis

The information outlined in the initial interpretative contrast of ordered rankings from 1 to 6 for the native writers and the native respondents was matched to the four major constructs found in concept y. When the other concepts did the same thing as any of the four constructs of concept y, the order of importance and the alphabetical letter denoting the concept was listed beside the appropriate construct of concept y for the proper group. This procedure above was done to see how well concept y served as an organizing concept. It must be remembered that concept y was found empirically in the treatment of the data and shared the only common order of importance occuring in both groups studied. If concept y organizes the content of the concepts ordered from 1 to 6 as to importance without losing any other constructs found in them, then concept y would have considerable efficiency in reducing the study data without losing information and possibly several broad features of native leadership could be highlighted from the study. The interpretative synthesis of the liberation concepts (ordered 1 to 6) is summarized below:

Concept y	Native Writers	Native Respondents
Specifies leader/peoples relationship by what it is not	6.f affirms	1.f affirms 2.v descriptive 3.q

Denies the mean of leadership by manipulation or prescription	5.1 2.x 6.g	2.v 3.q
Denies object position for people as domestication	5.1 6.f affirms subjects	1.f affirms subjects 4.3 affirms subjects
Specifies the leader's role by what it is not	1.d affirms role by what is 3.s affirms 4.m	5.b

Summary of Trial-Run Procedures

The trial-run procedure was done to test for the suitability of concept y to serve as an organizing framework for re-organizing the study data so that important and real differences between the native writers and native respondents could be found.

The use of the Interpretative Contrast was to examine the complexity of each concept ordered for importance for each group studied. The Interpretative Contrast provided the information in a form that enbled the Interpretative Synthesis to plot the interaction, re-statement and overlap occurring between the liberation concepts as ordered in Table XI.

Findings from the trial-run of Interpretative procedures was that the lack of unity between the native writers and native respondents interviewed that may have been suggested in Table XI, ordering the importance of the liberation concepts for the two groups, probably does not reflects a real difference.

Findings from Table XI also suggest a difference in emphasis in ordering of clusters of concepts occurs between the two groups. The number of similarities occurring in the initial Interpretative Synthesis reveals that this difference also may not be a real difference.

The direction the initial interpretative contrast and synthesis gave the researcher was that differences in ordering of importance of concepts in Table XI were not real differences between the two groups studied. The real differences occurring in the study data between the two groups would show through content examination and subsequent valuation of ordering of importance.

The Initial Interpretative Synthesis examined 10 of the 26 concepts used in this study as they were ordered in importance from 1 to 6 for the two groups. The 10 concepts had 17 connections to the four major constructs contained in concept y. All constructs in y were connected one to three times by the 10 concepts ordered from 1 to 5 for both groups. This shows that the 10 concepts along with concept y have many content links and that the differences in ordering of Importance are differences in expression rather than differences in content regarding liberation.

Completion of Interpretative Contrast and Synthesis

The following Interpretative Contrast continues the examination of the liberation concept content as the concepts were ordered for importance to the two native groups studied in Table XI. It shows the contrast between the ordered rankings from 7 - 20 for the native writers and the native respondents. The ordered rankings are identical for both groups but the concept addressed varies as indicated in Table XI. The concept being addressed by each ordered ranking is interpreted by the researcher as to what the concept says and what the concept does. These interpretations are contrasted for each group under the same ordered rankings for the groups. For example, the concepts

ordered 7th by each group were v for native writers and z for native respondents. The contrast occurs if what concept v does is different from what concept x does. A similarity occurs if what concept v specifies is the same as what concept x specifies.

After the Interpretative Contrast was presented the Interpretative Contrast was presented. The Interpretative Synthesis for Ordered rankings from 7 - 20 was organized under the four major constructs that occur in concept y. The researcher systematically scanned the interpretative contrast for each statement of concept content that matched each organizing constructed from concept y. Where a match occurred the ordered ranking and the alphabetical concept notation was recorded for each group.

The alphabetical grouping of liberation concepts that could be matched to the four organizing constructs of concept y were listed and totalled under the Empirical Organization of Liberation Concepts.

Interpretative Contrast: Ordered rankings from 7 - 20.

A. Native Writers	B. Native Respodents
7. v. Specifies the leader/people relationship as a shared acceptance of diversity of view points that provide mutual supportive affirmation of each other.	7. z. Specifies the leader/people relationship as co-intentional education, both as subjects viewing reality and coming to know it critically between them. Specifies the means of common though and action to discover themselves authentically.
8. z. (See 7.z. Native Respondents)	8. n. Specifies the nature of the leader's role. To identify with the people's demands in a broad context yet allowing the people to pose the meaning of that very demand as a problem.
	8. j. Requires leader belief in the people's capacity to liber-

		ate themselves. Denies treatment of other people as objects.
9.	r. Specifies the role of minor field workers closest to the people to help them organize themselves and to advise them.	9. a. Specifies the requirements of dialogical theory. Calls for leader commitment to unceasing effort for group unity. Also requires unity of the leader with the people as the central means of obtaining liberation.
10.	p. Specifies the task of leadership and of government to explain, encourage and participate (information flow, supportive means and involve close to the people). Specifies that the task is not to force change.	10. h. Describes the confidence of the leaders in the people. Indicates that the trust of the people in the leader of a reflection of the leader's attitude. Warns that the leader confidence should not be naive. (This means that leaders may have to be confronting but not imposing).
11.	u. Specifies the means of cultural synthesis to resolve solve contradiction between the world view of the leaders and that of the people, to the enrichment of both. (Concept is obscure, seems to assume leaders have advantages of superior knowledge and that knowledge gap is wide between leaders and people. Writings don't clarify).	11. k. Claims populist charismatic leadersip is a wrong leadership style. Denies emotional exploitation, manipulation, cultural invasion. Denies any means of reducing the people to an object position. Specifies the requirements for affirming the people as subjects. This is when those in transforming action upon reality also make their own choices and decisions.
12.	h. (See 10.h Native Respondents)	12. l. (See 5.l Native Writers) 12. m. (See 4.m Native Writers) 12. p. (See 10.p Native Writers)
13.	b. (See 5.b Native Respondents) 13. k. (See 11.k Native Respondents)	3. t. (Indicates that a result of the leader/people relationship is to refine the sophisticated knowledge of the leader when it is remade in emprical knowledge of people. (This concept is identical to u. Concept Y specifies how? Concept t specifies the result of the nature of the relationship).
		13. w. Specifies the nature of planning between leader and people. They must create together the guidelines of their

		action. They become reborn in the synthesis of this process.
14.	n. (See 8.n Native Respondents)	14. c. Liberational change is made by the leaders and people acting together in unshakeable solidarity. Specifies the change result that follows the unity of the leader, people relationship. Denies change made by one for the other.
		14. o. Specifies the range of the leader's commitment to the oppressed. Because it is a commitment to freedom, the leader must not conquer but obtain the peoples adherence to liberation. Specifies the means of the commitment.
15.	c. (See 14.c Native Respondents)	15. 4. (See 9.r Native Writers).
15.	t. (See 13.t Native Respondents)	
15.	j. (See 8.j Native Respondents)	
15.	a. (See 9.a Native Respondents)	
16.	e. (See 4.e Native Respondents)	16. x. (See 2.x Native Writers)
16.	q. (See 3.q Native Respondents)	
17.	w. (See 13.w Native Respondents)	17. g. Specifies the conditions of the communicative function of the leader/people relationship. To be liberating it must be really human, empathic, loving.
18.	i. Specifies the attitudes and qualities a leader must have. Specifies what he must not be. Aims to preserve the subject position of the people to him.	18. d. (See 1.d Native Writers).
19.	o. (See 14.0 Native Respondents)	19. u. (See 11.u Native Writers)
20.	g. (See 17.g Native Respondents)	10. i. (See 18.i Native Writers)

Interpretative Synthesis: Ordered rankings from 7 - 20.

Concept y	Native Writers Order/Concept	Native Respondents Order/Concept
Specifies leader/people relationship by what it is not	7.v affirms 8.z 12.h 13.a 15.c 15.t 15.j 16.q 20.g	7.z 8.j 9.a 10.h 13.t 14.c 17.g
Denies the means of leadership by manipulation or prescription	11.u affirms cultural synthesis 13.k 15.c 16.q 17.w 19.o	11.k 12.l 13.w 14.c 14.o 16.x 19.u
Denies object position for the people as domestication	10.p 13.k 15.j 16.e 18.i	8.j 11.k 12.l 12.p
Specifies the leader's role by what it is not	9.r 10.p 13.b 13.k 14.n 18.i	8.n affirms 11.k 12.m 12.p 18.d 20.i 17.s 15.r

Empirical Organization of Liberation Concepts

Concept y	Interpretative Concept Match
Specifies the nature of the leader/people relationship	f, v, q, u, z, h, a, c, t, j, g, Total 11
Rejects the leadership means of manipulation and prescription	f, q, v, x, l, u, k, c, w, o, Total 10
Rejects the object position of the people	f, l, e, p, k, j, i, Total 7
Specifies the leader's role	d, b, s, m, r, p, k, n, i, Total 9

The empirical organization of liberation concepts shows an interpretative concept total for 25 (less y) concepts was 37. This means that the four constructs contained in concept y had a total of 37 connections or overlaps with the 24 other liberation concepts.

The interpretative procedures appear to demonstrate the viability of concept y being used an an organizing concept. It was pinpointed empirically through the Valuation ordering of the data. Concept y was the only common order found between the groups studied.

The lack of common ordering of the concepts was due to the diversity of expression given to a few basic constructs about leadership. This diversity of language expression was revealed in the Interpretative exercise.

The match or ordered importance of concepts from the study data in the trial (initial) and completion of Interpretative Synthesis provides a re-organization of liberation concepts. Where concepts overlap to two or more constructs contained in concept y, the overlaps occur for both groups studied. If the inverse valuation for ordered importance of the concepts occurring originally were attached to the re-organized assignment of ordered concepts with the re-organized constructs of concept y, the inverse valuations would show a numerical gain where conceptual overlaps occurred. But because the overlap occurred in an identical manner within both groups, the shifts in study data overlap would occur identically also. Thus the use of the inverse valuations that go with the ordered importance of the liberation concepts (Table XI) could be re-assigned to the concept organization occurring in the initial (trial) and completion of Interpretative Synthesis to find real major differences occurring between the two groups studied. Then the

valuations could be totalled and ranked (ordered) within each group for weighting the original data to the organizing constructs of concept y. This was done in the charts that follows:

Applying the Valuations for Rank Ordering of the Articulations as They Match the Organization of Liberation Concepts to Concept y.

Concept y	Native Writers (From Table XI) Order/Concept-Valuation	Native Respondents (From Table XI) Order/Concept-Valuation
Specifies leader/ people relationship	6.f = 20 8.z = 18 12.h = 13 13.a = 10 15.c = 10 15.t = 10 15.j = 10 16.q = 9 20.l = - Total 100	1.f = 45 2.v = 34 3.q = 33 7.z = 25 8.j = 24 9.a = 23 10.h = 21 13.t = 15 14.c = 14 Total 234
Denies the means of Manipulation and Prescription	5.l = 21 2.x = 27 6.f = 20 11.u = 15 13.k = 12 15.c = 10 16.q = 9 17.w = 6 19.o = 3 Total = 123	2.v = 34 3.q = 33 11.k = 18 12.l = 17 13.w = 15 14.c = 14 14.o = 14 16.x = 9 19.u = 6 Total = 160
Denies the object	5.l = 21 6.f = 20 10.p = 16 13.k = 12 15.j = 10 16.e = 9 18.i = 5 Total = 93	1.f = 45 4.e = 31 8.j = 24 11.k = 18 12.l = 17 12.p = 17 Total = 152
Specifies the leaders role	9.r = 17 10.p = 16 13.b = 12 13.k = 12 14.n = 11 18.i = 5 1.d = 31 3.s = 26	8.n = 24 11.k = 18 12.m = 17 12.p = 17 18.d = 7 20.i = - 17.s = 6 15.r = 10

4.m = 22 5.b = 30
Total = 152 Total = 129

Summary of Valuations to Order Data Under the Re-Organization of Liberation Concepts to Concept y. (From Chart above)

Concept y	Native Writers		Native Respondents	
	Valuation	Rank Order	Valuation	Rank Order
Specifies leader/ people relationship	100	3	234	1
Denies the Means of Manipulation and Prescription	123	2	160	2
Denies Object Position	93	4	152	3
Specifies leaders role	152	1	129	4

The ordering process was applied to the information highlighted in the Interpretative Organization of Concepts to the four constructs occurring in concept y. The findings were that the Native Writer's valuation reflects the high articulation of concepts specifying the leader's role in the liberation process.

The emphasis of the native respondents was in the concepts specifying what the leader-people relationship is and is not. Leader's Role was rank ordered first by the Native Writers and fourth by the Respondents. The leader-people relationship was ranked first by the Respondents and third by the Writers. Denial of the means of manipulation and prescription, and denial of the object position were weighted nearly equally by the ordering process within the respondent group.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATONS

In this chapter the problem, procedure and results of the study will be summarized. Conclusions will be stated and some implications for native leadership and for further research will be discussed.

Summary

Native leadership in Canada has received high media coverage in the past decade but literature providing political or social analysis or description is scant but for several major books written by native leaders themselves. Existing literature on organizations reveals a great deal of industrial organizational research into the leadership and management relationship with employees with the goal for increasing efficiency and productivity but with fewer generalizations about leader characteristics, practices and capacity to lead. There appears to be two leadership styles, task centered or people centered which are appropriate to increasing productivity under certain leadership situations. Leadership may be distributed among organizational members and granted to the leaders by the members. Leader influence, over the group members is determined by the leader-member relationship primarily and by the nature of the task structure and position power. Leadership literature in non-industrial nations is very political dealing with people's emergence from under colonial governments to take part in a process of liberation. It discusses the nature of man and his relationships to others and to his environment. This literature emphasizes the leader-member relationship of unity with each other, commitment to a

liberative goal, implying a shared world view or ideology, authentic leader-member interaction and then splits into two schools of thought over the means used to achieve liberation. One group of writers would advocate the means of violence to achieve liberation at any costs to be free, the other denies all forms of violence to achieve liberation because freedom is an inner state of knowledge and survival is the sole goal of liberation. The literature addresses the issue of a global human community in a limited biosphere and to an appeal to common morality and humanity, if man is to effect notice in the distribution and use of resources while respecting the nature of man and his relationship to others.

This study has sought to test empirically the fit of articulations by native Canadian writers and native leaders in Alberta to the liberation literature statements about the nature of leadership outlined in a recent thesis by Deblois that attempts to bridge and unify the existing literature on leadership (Deblois, 1976).

Five recorded interviews with native leaders in Alberta were obtained on their perceptions of native leadership. Four major books by native writers were reviewed. Articulations by both groups were selected and recorded on cards if they reflected in some form the concept selected by Deblois from the liberation literature. A floor sort was done and recorded by the researcher. The frequency of articulations by both groups to the liberation concepts was ranked. An inverse valuation from 1 to 10 was applied to the ranking of articulations from the highest number to the lowest for each writer and respondent and for each group separately to control for frequency of articulation to the number of persons making the articulations and to highlight those concepts common

to both groups and to observe the distribution of articulations to the concepts. The limits of the ranking process were noted and an interpretation process of concept contrast and synthesis was used to manage the conceptual overlap occurring in the liberation concepts and in the articulations relating to them. The interpretative process was to answer two questions: What does the concept say? and What does this do?

The ranking valuations used initially were applied to the empirical organization of the concepts as interpreted by totalling the gross clustering of the articulations as to the conceptual overlaps found. Thus the valuation ranking of articulations as to order of importance to each group was used to highlight real major differences in the articulations of the two groups studied.

Analysis of the data revealed the following:

1. All of the theoretical liberation concepts selected by Deblois from the writings of Paulo Friere and Julius Nyerere were articulated in some manner by the four native writers and the five interviewed respondents as the result of their leadership experience in native leadership in Canada and Alberta.
2. When the frequency and distribution of the articulations of the two groups to the theoretical concepts was rank ordered through an inverse valuation process only one concept received a common rank ordering by group groups. This was concept y.
3. When an interpretative analysis of the rank ordered concepts for each group was completed it was found that the one commonly ranked concept y was in fact an organizing concept containing four major constructs into which all other 25 concepts could be matched. This procedure effectively accounted for concept

and articulation overlaps. The gross groupings of rank ordered concepts for the two groups under the four organizing constructs enabled the researcher to determine that the primary articulations of the native writers were towards those liberation concepts that specified the nature of the leaders role. The primary articulations of the native respondents were toward those liberation concepts that specified the nature of the leader-people relationship.

4. The second major difference in articulation between the two groups occurred in those articulations towards denial of the object position. The native respondents appear sensitive to the oppressive nature of being in an object position as a leader and recognize that their relationship with the people is such that neither are objects to be acted upon by one or the other. The articulations of the native writers on denial of the object positions were more moderate.

5. The native respondents gave equal importance to the denial of the means of manipulation and prescription and to the denial of the object position. This would appear to indicate that the native respondents are highly aware of native people and leaders being in an oppressed condition and that the conscientization process of dialogue that claims and names and renames themselves individually and collectively as subjects and as subjects who specify their relationship to other subjects and to their environment as subject with them, is the desirable means of leadership.

6. Two factors limit the generalizations that can be made between the two groups studied. The first is the fact that the degree of articulation by the native writers is moderated by the reflection and shaping process occurring in written work. The valuation of all articulations by the native writers is consistently lower for all rank ordering of concepts than those valuated for the articulations of the native respondents. The second factor is the difference in time between the articulations of the native writers (1973-1977) and the native respondents (1979). One is looking at a complex and dynamic social process that is the phenomenon of native leadership and shifts in awareness may be occurring.

Conclusions

1. The articulations of the native writers and the native respondents selected in this study form an empirical validation of the liberation concepts on leadership selected by Deblois from the liberation literature. The sophisticated theoretical articulations about liberation leadership can in fact be tested empirically in reality. In this study it has been demonstrated that the liberation concepts have an existence in the reality of native leadership in Canada.
2. The interpretative process was useful in organizing the liberation concepts of Deblois' study under the four major leadership constructs of concept y which was highlighted in the treatment of the empirical information found in this study. The interpretative process shows that the leader-

people relationship is the central primary awareness of native leaders interviewed at the present time. The native writers central primary awareness from 1973-1977 was concerned with the specifications of the leaders role.

3. Both groups articulations can be commonly ranked in a second priority of awareness as being that of addressing the issue of leadership morality that denies the leadership means of manipulation and prescription to achieve liberational ends.
4. The native respondents reveal an almost equal emphasis on denial of the means of manipulation and prescription and on denial of the object position within the leader-people relationship.

Implications

The major implication arising from the findings and conclusions of this study is that native leadership in Canada can be closely identified and paralleled to the leadership conditions and process occurring in the Third World Countries and idealistically articulated in the liberation literature of Paulo Freire and Julius Nyerere.

Liberation literature is not viewed too respectably by some of the academic community and maybe read out of curiosity but never taken too seriously. This small study demonstrated that leadership concepts examined from liberation literature in fact have a base in reality in Canada.

The second implication arising from this study is there is a need to change focus from the description of the leader-people relationship as being central to the literature and reality of leadership to considera-

tion of the specification made in the liberation literature and by the native groups studied on the morality or code of respect that must be observed in the leader-people relationship.

The directions for research into leadership would be to conduct studies into the issue of morality of organizational behaviour. What are the real efficiencies of manipulative and prescriptive leader-people interactions? What are the real costs of manipulation and prescription to the organization and to the individuals in them? How could the use of liberational concepts shape organizational renewal?

The third implication arising from the study of native leadership is that the liberation concepts are more widely diffused throughout native leadership now than some of the native writers would have predicted in 1973 and 1974.

The high diversity of comment, criticism, and articulation of subject position stances, in this study does not indicate an inert state, nor a passive context, nor an ideal situation for native leadership in Canada. It does indicate growing vigor, rising awareness and surprising humility of perception through past mistakes and a thorough knowledge of the costs incurred through adversarial stances and structuring of organizations.

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APPENDICES

INTERVIEWS WITH NATIVE LEADERS

A. STAN SHANK

B. HERB BELCOURT

C. DOUG CARDINAL

D. LILLIAN POTTS

E. TERESA WILDCAT

APPENDIX A

Stan Shank

The Perceptions of Native Leadership

INTERVIEW WITH STAN SHANK

September 8th, 1979.

JOHNSON

I would like to record your perceptions on native leadership and have some background on your experiences. Let's start by giving me your name.

(Background)

SHANK

Stan Shank is my name and my grandmother was a Brass from Manitoba, who married a Scotch fellow by the name of MacDonald, and there was three brothers who came to the Edmonton area and settled in Cooking Lake and that's where I was born, at Cooking Lake. My father is from the St. Paul, Minneapolis area of the United States. I know he come to Canada in about 1903 or 1900 when there wasn't much around Edmonton or even where they settled in around Athabasca. They were the first settlers in there. We were raised at Cooking Lake. There were several families of native people there. There was Shanks and MacDonalds and Campions and Bridges. They were all of a native background in this community, but we weren't on a reserve, we were non-registered Indians, or Metis, or whatever the name, the nomenclature is not important.

(Identity)

I'm not half of anything I'm a whole person you know - a Canadian, if you want to put it all in one bag, but a person's identity doesn't only come from himself, but it comes from the community in which he lives. We were known as Indians, half breeds, and we had Indian families visit us and half breed families, these were our visitors that we had in our home were mostly Indians and half breeds or whatever you want to call them, Metis. The people from Hobbema sometimes come to the house. People from Saddle Lake came to the house, you know. Trapping with my dad and trapping with us. Trapper farmers is what we were.

I know of families who disclaim their Indian heritage because they happen not to look like Indians or somebody else. We never did to that, I don't know any member of my family who ever put a disclaimer on Indian heritage and they always felt that this gave them something special - special status as Canadians - being of Indian heritage, as we always looked on that as an asset rather than a liability.

(Indian/White Relationship)

But in the real world of "knocks" it became a liability. Because if I was walking down the street if I'm walking down the street with another Indian, the public doesn't say there goes a non-registered Indian or a registered Indian, they just say there goes a couple of Indians. If a cop sees me talking with another Indian on a street, he's gonna say let's bust those Indians, you know. He doesn't differentiate. I found that throughout my life I experienced the same kind of discrimina-

tion as Indians face. However I was, very often, and I think that sometimes the Indians who are on reserves are not aware of when they are being discriminated against. Like I went to an Unemployment Insurance Office and the girl was talking to a Ukranian fellow or a German, I don't know what he was. He was a white person anyway. She finished with him, and the minute she turned around to talk to me I could see the change in her attitude just as much as from night to day. She just put on another face and I kinda looked around myself and thought there was something the matter with me until I spotted what it was. It was her attitude towards Indians and she had the Indian pegged as an unreliable, blah, blah, blah. She was wanting me to take on jobs that I didn't want, jobs that weren't paying very good and stuff like that. So she started giving me peculiar times to report. Like she would say O.K. you be here at 7:30 or 8:00 o'clock tomorrow morning and make sure you're here. So I would be there because I knew from my past experience that timeliness is an important thing, so I was there and because I acted this way I was able to get the job I wanted. But it took a long time I had to work with this person for about a week before I got a job, and before I left I finally pointed out to her, her discriminatory attitude towards me and found out some of the reasons behind it. But anyway that's not important for this discussion, just to give you some of my own background. I'm from a big family by the way, there's 16 of us. I have nine brothers and six sisters, so you soon learn in those circumstances that you give the other guy his space. You learn that space is an important thing and privacy is an important thing and you don't intrude on people.

Now as far as being culturally being Indian...yes, I took part in

activities, like recreation activities and stuff when I was a kid and associated with Indian people, but to get right into the core of the culture, no, I never went through the ceremonies or anything like that, except after I got older when I was grown up, and the amount I picked up there is mostly in terms of attitudes and values. I know for instance when an Indian is putting me down. Alot of white people don't know when they are being put down by an Indian and vice versa, Indians sometimes don't know when they are being put down by white people, and I learned this from working with Indians, and I was fairly, I guess, intelligent sort of person.

I left home when I was fifteen and worked for, my resume is here, so you can pretty well see where I worked. I started out working for Gainers Packing Plant, then I graduated from there and worked down east, and worked in a logging camps and worked on farms and worked on construction. I worked for Ontario Hydro as a foreman when I was 18, I guess, 18 or 19, and I had a gang of maybe 30 to 40 white men, and most of them were white at least. There were some Indians but not many. Then I went to Manitoba Hydro, Manitoba Foundation Construction and because I had Indian background I was given a whole Indian crew, and the other fellow, there was two of us, three of us come from Ontario Hydro. One was a foreman and we two other people were riggers. The other guy was Ukranian, I was Indian.

JOHNSON

What was the quality that gave you this foremanship with the Hydro?

SHANK

Well I just didn't take a backseat from anybody. I won't take any backseat. If a guy was Indian or white man it didn't matter. If they showed me any disrespect in anyway, I would immediately challenge them on the basis, the only basis I had, and that was with my hands. I would provoke them into a situation where he had to attack me, or I would attack him, whichever the case may be, and intimidate the person before he intimidated me, because you get alot of that in construction work, big loud mouth people come and blow you down. So I didn't tolerate this and I seen alot of Indian people, alot of talents, alot of qualities come into a gang of maybe 10 white men. Immediately they are bullied and they are intimidated and they start sticking around the outskirts of the work and doing the pick up jobs and stuff like that, and don't get right in the heart of a job, so they never get to know what the job is all about really. Of course there are other Indian people who are able to push ahead. That's the only way I size it up from now, but I know my brothers run into the same thing. They had this perception of they know when they are being discriminated against by a white person or being put down and it led to alot of fights. They would call anybody on this and very often the other guy didn't think that it was worth it, but it was the only way that we could gain our identity was to become belligerant and first, these things led to trouble, boozing and stuff like that, but I don't think any of this...led towards the making of the kind of a person I am now, which I hope is different than when I started out at 15 years old.

(European Intervention)

But I think in order to make sense out of the whole thing we have to start at the beginning of European intervention in America, go back to Columbus and go back to Cartier and the early explorers who came to Canada and started giving the Indians things. The first thing you come across is that the Indian people, from what I read and from what I have gathered starting from the elder Indians that I have heard talk, from reading history books and from reading all the material that I have ever read, I have come to some conclusions, and one is that you cannot introduce items from a highly technical civilization to a non-technical civilization without disrupting it. The first Indian person who was able to obtain a gun or an axe, or a knife, became a very valuable person to his community, because he had something that no one else had. It gave him certain powers. He may have been in the traditional society the equivalent of the town drunk but the fact that he got a technical piece of equipment elevated him to the status of mayor. He became a valuable contributor because of the goods he had gathered about him. Now, you know, how do you account for this? You first have to understand that the Indian people harvested their environment. They were gatherers and hunters. Like we all were at one time, Europeans as well. They were gatherers and hunters. They harvested their ecosystem in which they lived. They were part of the ecosystem. We, all, are part of the ecosystem even today, even if we don't recognize it. We better start recognizing it. They were part of that ecosystem and they harvested that ecosystem to the extent that their technology would allow them to harvest it. Now an Indian with a stone axe and bow and arrow

and spear goes out and it takes certain skills. He needs certain skills. He needs stealth, he needs strength and patience and all of those things. Now you give that same Indian a gun, he still needs his strength, but he doesn't need as much skill and he doesn't need as much patience. He becomes more dominant over his environment and he is able to cover a larger area. We'll say maybe each hunter in the old days could cover 10 square miles, or five square miles. We give that same guy a gun and an axe and a knife, and he can cover 20 square miles because he becomes more efficient at his job. All you need to do to put this guy to work is to offer him a market for his goods, and of course we all know the market is there. The market for the goods that he killed was there. Then, an Indian gets a gun, he becomes the best hunter in the village. So the question became, how do you get a gun. You get it through the white man of course. So you go out in the woods and you kill as many animals as you can and stack 'em up to the gun and you get yourself a gun.

(Changing Indian Values)

Now that's where the big change came in in my mind is that the personality traits to become a successful leader in the old days are far different than the personality traits that a person needs today. There was a change in the value of the personality traits in the Indian community. Those people who at one time were at the bottom of the social scale in the Indian community began to elevate themselves up - to have power over others. It shows in lots of ways because the old people, the shamons and the religious leaders were being put down, not

only by the white religionists but very often by their own people. Now this is coming back and I do believe that now they were able to, you know. So in my mind the main struggle from the Indian cultural point of view was within that culture. What the white world sees of this is only the external manifestations. The Indians coming into town and the Indians coming into villages dominated by white people. I was in the Friendship Centre, downtown, when Harry Chonokolay, Traditional Chief of the Beaver/Slavey's at Habay and Assumption moved in there in 1964 and I remember some of the things that he said. I listened very carefully to what he was saying, because of his age and because of the manner the man had about him. He had some mannerisms that made you pay attention to him. One of the things he said was that it took me, he said ten years ago, which would then be 1954. He said, "I discovered that there was no more moose out in the bush and there was no more fish in the river, or not sufficient fish in the river or moose in the woods, or deer to feed our people". He said, "So I had to start working in the saw mills and stuff like that to feed my family. He said I come back to my people and it took me seven years to ten years to convince them that there was no more. That there wasn't enough stuff out in the woods to eat, because the faith of my people, he says, was in the ecosystem, in the woods. He says we have faith in the nature of things, we have faith that our God lives in the nature of things. He said but it took me that long to convince them. They had to reach out for help to some other sources. He recognized too that there was pollution around. He says I don't know what's killing some of these deer, he says, you go out in the bush and find dead ones and rabbits the same way, he says, you go out and find them. Fish in the river, he says, they come up to the surface their

bellies white. He knew about pollution, he didn't have a word for it but he knew there was something killing those animals and fish that were not part of the whole natural thing, and that's where the problem lies. You see some actress in California, you know, goes and sprays her flowers and kills the weeds with DDT and the end result is to kill a polar bear in the Arctic. So the Indian people recognize that this was going on, but they didn't have the broad knowledge to articulate what it was. But they knew there was something interferring with their natural world, not only people, the mechanization and the other things that were introduced and you know they say "Well why do Indians want to join in this? Why do they take part?". Well first of all consider the nature of the human mind, whether it belongs to an Indian or whether it belongs to a white man. If a little boy is sitting out in the bush meditating or whatever he might be doing, shooting squirrels and he sees an airplane go by and he knows there a man inside it. He sees the man, he obviously would like to try that. Even if just out of curiosity, he wants to get up there, you know. An old Indian comes to town. When the first transistor radio, not those (no that was before the batteries, they had those funny little radios, what the heck were they called? I forget. Anyways the first radios that came out without a battery. I forget what they call it now) but they bought one of those and brought it back and it became the real thing you know. This thing could talk. It really aroused their curiosity. That's all you need to do, is to arouse a person's curiosity and he begins to want those things.

But as I was pointing out, it's the ecosystem where the Indian lives and as soon as you interfere with that you have a responsibility. I have a responsibility (and you know, I could talk for hours on that

particular transition). Now this didn't happen over night, it happened over a period of maybe 400 years and the eastern tribes, the Crees, from around the Hudson Bay area, the Iroquois, alot of them came west with the trappers and the fur traders and all this, and especially the Crees, they moved west like you won't believe it, but because they could hunt efficiently now. They could harvest their ecology very thoroughly. They had steel traps which they got from the white man. They had guns. They had knives. They had whatever it took. They had it. The Crees were noted, even in the old days, before they had axes and saws and stuff, they were noted for making good canoes. Well its quite obvious to...and I would assume to everyone...that a man with an axe and a saw and a knife and a draw knife, can make canoes far more quickly and for more neatly constructed than a man without those tools, or a man with stone tools, or brass tools, or any other simplepiece. They were able to move very quickly. You know we get the idea that all Indians ride horses. Well this isn't really true about the Cree, because they came west in canoes. The majority of Canadian Indians, the Cree and the Slavies, were mostly people who lived near the water. They used canoes and they did not adopt the horse until they got to the prairies. The horses were brought from the south mostly by Blackfeet and the Sioux. So you know they were two very different groups. Yet in Canada everybody - all the white people - think they were all just horses and Indians. Like a fellow said to me the other day. He said the children first played cowboys and Indians. I said "What are you talking about". I said the first cowboy was an Indian. The cowboy that was an Indian used to herd buffalo. Yeh, he used to herd buffalo, he used to hunt buffalo on his horses and never overkilled until there was a white

market for them. It isn't very far from there...into cattle and range cattle. I think the white man in Canada copied the Indian in this case. Because the horse is a very handy animal to have, when it comes to herding cattle on the range. But nevertheless I think you get my meaning that there are two viewpoints here, one of the "story book of the Indian on the horse and the romance of the provinces" - the prairies - and stuff like that.

But there's also the story of the trappers. I think the trapping story and the fur trade story plays far more importance in Canada than what the story of the plains people does really. Because except you know that the American influence has pushed this over onto us - the American influence.

(Central Unity of Indians)

But I think I'm getting off my story of Indian leadership because out of this has evolved a certain kind of leadership. Now I wasn't too interested my Indian heritage, and all that stuff, until I started to live a little bit of life and I can relate to you some instances which caused me to take second and third looks at the close tie I had with the Indian community. One of them was when I was over in Korea. I had to take these two Koreans down to an outpost which was about a half a mile from the main force at night. And all I had was a radio and a telephone. While we were out there in the dark, in no man's land, on the front line. We weren't suppose to use the radio unless it was absolutely necessary. Half way through the night somebody cut our telephone line. I was talking on the phone and I just heard "snip" and the thing was

down. So I broke radio silence and asked them to send a person down. They couldn't find an available radio man in that whole section that would come down there. And one fellow, an Indian fellow from Saskatchewan, was on the other side of the hill. He heard about this by the radio. And immediately - I hardly knew the guy, I had boxed with him a few times, but didn't know him very well, and immediately... now I know there was ten other signal people on that hill who could have come down and the only guy who come down was the Indian fellow. Now you might think that's chance. Now, we Indian people make up about, let's say two percent of the Canadian population. Here I'm in the army and I make up about two percent there too. Here he was. The two of us you know, working together to supposedly help this country out. You know in the war...and the other guys weren't there. All these other white Canadians didn't offer their help at that time. I'll never forget that one. It showed concern to me, and I could go on and on and tell you of different circumstances where this unique relationship works. I mean its there.

But anyway to get back to my story on leadership, I am a sociologist and I have studied sociology and its sort of my profession so I can't discuss leadership out of this context. Leadership doesn't evolve out of nowhere, it has to come from somewhere and it has to come from the community in which you live, in which the spirit exists for that leadership. Obviously the leadership for the Indian community has to come from the Indians. It has to come from the Indians. When we look at the type of society that they have to integrate into - not assimilate but integrate into - as a group, we find that there are many many obstacles. At least I can see many obstacles for Indians when they start participating in a non-Indian society. First is the education

system eventhough its being run by Indian people on the reserves now. At one time it wasn't. The content - the theoretical background has got alot of foreign ideas in it. And by that, I mean for instance when the Japanese discovered they would have to join the western society world and technology, they sent a delegation around the world to find out what this civilization meant. They found that to the English people it meant a sort of mixture of religious insight, perserverence, technological know-how and all of those things woven together as a sort of a civilization. When they went to Germany, they found out in Germany civilization meant industrialization. That's the idea that they brought back to Japan - that civilization and industrialization were synonamous. They started using that idea, integrating that idea with their people, and we know the results there. On the other hand we look at societies that adopted the British view, like India, they are still having problems. The idea was not singular.

(Integration Requires Singular Idea)

Its the singular idea that can penetrate. If an idea becomes defused it doesn't penetrate any further. It doesn't penetrate. The idea loses its power. It loses its momentum. On the one hand the Indian is hanging onto his own natural system, the law of justice, and the non-European has put his ideal outside the natural. You know alot of non-Indians or education institutes feel they are outside of the ecosystem, the natural ecosystem. They feel they belong to the world of ideas, but an idea can live in space, but a human being can't. We are still in here, and we have to take account of this. I think that the

Indians, you know, have alot to contribute here to bring the people back to the reality of their own humanness. This is the reality, if a tree dies outside or a bird falls from the sky, or a moose drops dead in the bush: something is killing it, and if that thing, whatever it is can kill a moose or a tree, it can kill me too. I'm not outside of that law. It can kill me too, and you have to look at that very closely.

Back to leadership. The potential for leadership among natives is very high because each individual, each Indian, is an individual. He has learnt to be an individual from the time, if he's raised right in his own culture, he's an individual from the time he is born till he expires, and he's an individual within himself, but he know where he belongs. He knows he's a part of the world and he knows that he doesn't treat the rest of the world with respect, and that includes his own environment and his personal belongings and everything, he knows that, or at least he is taught that, whether he carries it on or not I don't know. You get a person like this and he becomes a politician, becomes involved in political action. The talents he needs are far different. The personality traits he needs to be successful here are far different than had he chosen to become a trapper or a hunter. And what happens? Well alot of things happen. The Indian gets elected to we'll say a political organization, and other people from his reserve get elected to that organization, and people from other reserves get elected, and they go out and do their business with the provincial government, the federal government, other Indian bands and the whole deal. But in order to use his power he has to rely on himself with other groups and with other people. He needs support. But you know something, there's is not viable social mechanism in the human...in the community...through which

he can channel these kind of energies of his spirit. There are no Lions Clubs, there are no service clubs period, none of that kind of thing. The old societies, the mosquito societies, the magpie societies are inoperative. I don't know if they are being revived now. I think they are in some places, but they don't function the same as they used to function. Those were old internal organizations. They don't exist, so the only viable political group is the family. So one guy from a family gets in, and his family starts making demands on him. Not only his immediate family but everybody. The only viable political background that he can draw from is his family. Oh he can make deals here and make deals there and get forces to work for him.

JOHNSON

Are you saying that they support him and yet at the same time target him.

SHANK

Well they support him but they make demands on him too.

JOHNSON

So it's very heavy to be a leader.

SHANK

It's very heavy, it's a heavy trip, and you know you hear of nepotism in native organizations. The man may not have no other choice, or the woman may have no other choice, because they don't get that kind of support from other people. And this is the way it goes, the central

dividing principle - the discrimination - (don't get me wrong, I don't look on myself as a Indian leader). I'm a native person but I am not registered in the Indian Act, I'm not an Indian as far as the Canadian government is concerned. But I have rights as an Indian, as a Canadian citizen. I can exercise my rights to the extent that German people can exercise their rights, etc. German people, I won't say Francophones or Anglophone because I don't have the same privilege as those people. I speak the language, that's a different bag. Because I speak English doesn't make me an Englishman, and if I spoke German I won't be a German either, and there's a place they call England and there's a place they call Germany, but what about me. What about me, where am I gonna go? But I support fully support all the activities and actions of Indian people, those people who are registered and have their "rights of self government" and all those things.

We to also have, we have a funded organization, political organizations but they have proven somewhat ineffective in gaining any land rights or anything like that for the simple reason that there are other issues which are taking precedence over our efforts, and one of the things is Indian rights. Indian rights for Indian women. The whole world is now oriented towards "Oh we're gonna give all the women the same rights as men and give them the same jobs and all this" and I have no argument with that. I have no argument with that principle. I feel that people should, but its no fault of mine that the discrimination when out before. I'm new in this game. So you know these ideas are taking precedence over our main interests, and how this is gonna be resolved I really don't know. There are indications if the present government is going to eliminate that phrase from the Indian Act, that

discrimination from the Indian Act, but its taking the momentum, the steam, the energy from all the non-registered Indian communities, and its hitting us right in the gut as they say. We don't have any steam left. I'm not blind, I can see pretty good, and I notice for instance our government has the policy of hiring, a special policy for hiring native people, they also have a special policy for hiring Indian women, and that's not only Indian women but any women that comes along. And I notice that the director of our programme is a woman and not a native woman either, and if I could point out the key position that non-Indian women are holding that are politically valuable to us, and I can't say where as I'm a civil servant, I can't open up my mouth on this public work. I can talk privately like this and say O.K. this is unfair, and I've talked with my boss about it and I have expressed that opinion to him. I said you know at one time if a white woman married an Indian she became an Indian, and she become a valuable to the Indian community too because she had certain knowledge which she could use in there, and alot of them with PhDs now. Yeh, you know, and when I went back to school, I was over 40, you know and I just finished paying for my loan. It cost me some, I had to pay every cent. It wasn't free, I had to pay it and I still paid it until a couple of years ago. But this is neither here or there, we are getting off the subject, but these are, I'm trying to differentiate between the registered Indian and the non-registered Indian. What leadership proper, is and alot of organizations such as ANCS, Native Counselling Services, Metis Association of Alberta, and all kinds of native organizations are on the hierarchial system.

In the real sense of leadership, the Indian community has to produce the leaders. They have to produce spiritual leaders, they have produce

political leaders, they have to produce cultural leaders, they have to produce leaders in the arts, and they have to produce in music, they have to produce leadership in any area that is necessary to produce a leader.

(Leadership vs Activism)

The leadership is there and it can be produced. Leaders who in a sense are not activists. Very many of the Indian "leaders" are not in the true sense leaders. They are activists, political activists and they are engaged in all kinds of activities, but they implement very little action, very little action on the main problems in their areas of competence as leaders. They have to produce competent leaders in their chosen field. Now I know that this would rise alot of eyebrows that say "Who the hell is he to say that" but I'm giving my opinion and I am not saying that these activists are unnecessary or anything like that. They are very necessary they are sort of the cream of the crop you might say, but the cream is getting pretty damn thin, because of the erosion at the bottom. Real leadership, the hard-nosed bricklayers, the builders are building, coming up and they will eventually, given time and given understanding and given the compassion of their fellow man, they will come forward. How long this is gonna take I don't know, but I do know that I am a civil servant. Many people say because I work in a native position "Oh you're a native leader". I am an activist too. I have no special talent, I'm a sociologist, I studied sociology because I wanted to know something about the society that I worked with and the quickest way for me to learn that was to get into books where people studied the

social strata, if you want to call it, of how society got formed and what mechanisms, psychology that were familiar from Freud to whoever. And those ideas, theoretical backgrounds, served me as a tool. They are not my personality, I have an Indian personality. My personality is for Indians, but these tools I need in my mind, in my work and in my emotions to apply the knowledge I have in the right places so that an interesting result will come out. I have never aspired to a political leadership role, because I know that I can serve as a model without seeking public attention. I started out in the grass roots helping Indians. For instance, when I first started rehabilitating myself finding out who I was, were I fit into the scheme of things, I went to skid row. I went and placed my name in a half-way house, and asked people if Indian people get in trouble tell them to call me. I'll go down and see what I can do for them. I didn't ask for any pat on the back, I went down. Many of them with alcohol problems, I have worked with. I met here a guy not two weeks ago or a month ago who I worked with 16 years ago. I worked with him for a short time, maybe three or four months, he didn't accomplish what he wanted to do the first time but eventually he went home and brought the idea home with him that was transplanted through our association, and he started some groups up down there and he is involved. He became an activist in the community. And this is what I'm really talking about. Everyone can be a leader. We can all be leaders but it just depends which way we are heading you know. Like the fellow said you know, a leader (just shut it off for a minute).

But the key here between the activist and the "real leader". Real leaders in their areas of speciality have an attitude of respect. Someone asked me when I first started out in this work in Red Deer, a

guy by the name of Bill Wako asked me "What is the most essential thing that Indian people have to do, or learn or be?" and at that time I answered, I don't know where the answer came from, but I just said "Well, Indian people have to care for Indian people", and I was using the term care in the broadest sense, we must love and care for Indian people. And I don't think that has changed at all. We still have to learn to love and care for Indian people, and we have to know when to move aside. We have to know when we've extended ourselves to the extent of our usefulness. We have to know when to stand back and let the young guys take over, but we mustn't let them do that without question. They must be tested as we were. Just for doing what your suppose to do the world is not going to shower gifts on you. They have to learn that. They have to learn that it is what you do extra that counts. The extra time you take to talk to younger people. The extra time you take to look into your own life and take your own inventory, and find out where you are at. How you've got your head screwed on. It's the extra time you spend caring for other people and in exercising your body and your mind and your soul in the various areas that you need the strength. That's what's important. You know just for running through high school and running through university, its an essential thing and its a valuable thing, but if you have lost the ability to care for people, to care for your brothers and your sisters, then you're not doing them any favours. If your merely replacing the oppressive forces you're not doing your people any favour. You must learn to look with the other guy's eyes, you must learn that, it's a long way.

I heard an Indian fellow, Eddie Bellerose, the other day explaining respect as being to look twice. To look at the other person as a person

and to look at yourself and how you affect that other person, and be aware of all the avenues of communication that you are having with that other person, to observe how you affect him and how he affects you and get a perspective and insight into the situation. And I like that, I have more of that and I think that that's a good perspective to have to learn to respect and care for other people, and I think the idea of retaining the elders is an excellent idea for Indians, because that's were their libraries are. Their libraries are walking around and their art galleries are walking around, in the bush, in the minds of these old people and you are not going to find them outside of that mind. Unless you go and seek them out and find out what they have to offer, and eventually perhaps Indian scholars who are now coming forward, that's what I'm talking about as leadership. Indian scholars who can articulate these actions and write books on them. But they are not going to find the information that they have to write books on by reading other books, they are going to have to go out in the field and find out where the treasures are hidden. Gold is not where you want it to be, it's where you find it, and that's the way it is with us right now.

As Indian people or native background, whatever you want to call it, there's no way that I'm going to damage or interfere with the main thrust of Indian culture, there's just no way. I'm not expert and I said before I'm not an expert. I have sufficient knowledge of these things to get me by in my chosen career or profession. I got into another field a short time ago, and I worked for two years in another job down in Ottawa, but I realize that in order to be effective there I would have to go back and become a lawyer perhaps, but I don't have that time, I'm getting old. I just don't have the time to waste another five

years in school, when the most valuable contribution I have, I think I already have it, and that is to generalize the situation regarding people. Myself included. That's about all I guess.

APPENDIX B

Herb Belcourt

The Perceptions of Native Leadership

INTERVIEW WITH HERB BELCOURT

September 8th, 1979.

BELCOURT

My name is Herb Belcourt.

Regarding leadership of the native people I feel that the leaders themselves must realize one thing that the Government of Canada is really the downfall of the movement of people or betterment of native people. For instance they, they give out little bits of money to keep them happy. I believe really the downfall of the whole situation in Government is Indian Affairs itself to start with. If you could do away with that Department completely and put it into the hands of the Secretary of State which encourages economic development, and if the native leaders could really realize this, I think they could better themselves. You take Indian Affairs. They handle all the money that's the revenues or whatever should go as to that reserve or what's earned on that reserve, whether oil rights or money that's earned goes to Indian Affairs, and its dibbled back - little carrots is what I call it - and if the people themselves could see that they could own this in economic development that they would be self employed. They could become very wealthy if their reserve is adjacent to a community. A good example would be Cold Lake. The land is right up to the town boundaries, they could put

up apartments, they could do whatever, stores, etc., and be very well self supporting as individual people. But the way the laws are set up they can't do that. It must be approved by Indian Affairs. So it holds them back. So it keeps them in that reserve and its something like, oh how would you put it, like we have colonies of Indians, what's the name of the colonies that - Hutterite colonies. But it's only the Hutterites are self supporting, you know they have their heads and they have leadership. They say you will do this, you will do that, which is different in the native community - where everything is sort of handed to them. We'll look after you more or less, but you know, you don't really have to work that hard in other words. I don't know why but the whole system is wrong somehow and if you could get the leaders to realize and direct things for the people with a firm hand more or less, I think they would be alot better off.

JOHNSON

Do you think the role of government has been to kind of divide these people and keep them isolated?

BELCOURT

Oh, I definitely think so. To keep them down. They must keep them down. Why I don't know. I don't see why they feel this way. In my own eyes I feel that they want them down there because they must have issues. They must justify for their existence in Indian Affairs. That's my own opinion and what I see. It's a big bureaucracy so don't disturb us out there. They don't want these leaders to get up and say

this, this and that. They must keep them quiet by handling them all, well O.K. they have a program, we'll give a few hundred thousand dollars to you and continue but don't bother us for another year. In other words this is what they are saying. I think the whole system is wrong in that manner. You take the non-treaty, well you have your elections of course, this is again, is the same thing. They are trying to get ahead but once they get a few dollars handed to them, what I call this carrot, instead of them saying this is what we are going to do and get on with it, and going into the different departments of government, whether its funding which they don't have money to go ahead with. They get this carrot again, so they get a couple of hundred thousand dollars for the year to keep quiet more or less.

JOHNSON

Now in the sum total of all the carrots that you have seen distributed have there been any benefits? Has there been a central advantage to any of them?

BELCOURT

Well I think its sort of a maybe one thing it has, for the Metis people, this carrot that was dangled at - therefore the leaders - they went ahead and they formed locals and they became part of a little government, amongst all these locals, and there it fell down again. Once they were elected they didn't really do too much, and it left the people out there - nowhere. There was hopes out there in that community but they kept hollering to their association, give us money to do something, but there was no money to do anything with. So by that time

another year goes by and there is no money left for anything. To me the whole system is wrong. If you are going to dangle that carrot out there for the few dollars that the government is giving them just to keep them quiet, they might as well get nothing at all.

You know, I think the government is the ruination of the people. This actually is the way I see it. You know if they are saying alright to a leader out there this is what we are going to do in economic development, we are going to train our people and you must do this, this and that. Maybe it might take a form of dictatorship or a hard line amongst the people, I'm sure they would listen if you took the hard line, and they would do as they were told. You know and they would follow, but I think I mentioned before earlier that if you as a white person started a store and I as native person who opened up a store, none of the native people would buy from me. They would go to you and buy from the white man's store because he is hard, you know he won't do this and he'll call him a son of a bitch and the whole thing. You see they respect him for it. I mean the native person is really the soft one, you know, trying to be nice to this own people so they can try and get going. But it's hard for him. The people drag him down, hold him down.

JOHNSON

Would you be saying that native people don't really need popular leadership, they need strong leaders?

BELCOURT

Strong leaders, that's right, yes, I think so, yes. But here again

in the elections be damned if they would listen to someone like that. You know they will go along with someone who will sweet talk them because of this carrot that the government hands out. Well you might have a telegram in your hand, and maybe a blank piece of paper, they don't know that. The government is going to give a hundred thousand dollars, you know, for the next year, it's right here in writing. All they see is these dollar signs, this hundred thousand that this fellow, this leader here, is gonna get from government. They are not going to get a penny if they only realize it. That's what I see. That the government is the downfall. I think of myself to start with. If they are going to do anything on economic development, if the leader out there in that community, if you have an idea or if she has an idea, it is important that you do a good study of it. You discuss it with people in that small community. This is what we are going to do, we can borrow the money. Not the hand out system. If government said O.K. we'll loan you the money, but you've got to pay it back, because that's our system. (You don't really get anything for nothing, and as long as you get something for nothing, so you'll get more next year, what the heck, and) I think that if these leaders would go ahead and say alright, this is the thing we want to do in our community in economic development, we will go to government with this proposal. Here is the study that we have been doing, we will borrow the money. A hundred percent of it if it has to, which is going to create employment for "x" many people in our community. Not ask for the hand out, but actually borrow the money and the people will pay it back. If that was the attitude that could be ever taken, they would be a hell of a long ways ahead. That's my feeling.

JOHNSON

It's your feeling that the primary problem is an economic one and it is a poverty issue?

BELCOURT

Oh yes, definitely.

JOHNSON

If the native people have a need to organize, where do you see it? Do you see it as a need to organize to change existing laws and regulations and the nature of the Indian Act which disallows an Indian person the ability to borrow money?

BELCOURT

Yes, I definitely see that that Act should be changed. With these native people, what they have actually is a big bank from Indian Affairs or whatever they call it. Turn those funds over into the Secretary of State. Do away with Indian Affairs. Then they would deal with, if you want a loan for this project, that many dollars, and its feasible, give them that chance. But they must pay it back. If they fail, O.K., so you might have a loss 10% of them that will fail, but there's, what about the balance that are going to succeed. I don't know, it's a... risk.

JOHNSON

What do you think that the native people feel, do you feel that this Indian Act is one sense a protection for them and yet in another

sense is the very thing that keeps them from taking an equal part in society? Is it kind of a double edged sword with people?

BELCOURT

Oh, I suppose it is in a way, because when it was set up years ago when the treaties were signed and through the Hudon's Bay and you know...

JOHNSON

In your imagination what would be the result if they were to just wipe out the Indian Act and leave the Indian people with Canadian status?

BELCOURT

I think it would be damn good, because maybe this is where they would be proud to say well I'm part native. Like in the United States you get a person with native blood, he is proud of it, eventhough it might be 20 generations back, but he is still saying well I have native blood, you know, sort of proud of the fact. Now it seems like you go into, and really maybe I was the same way, you know, that well I'm sort of ashamed of my ancestors, let's put it that way, because I am out there in this white society, but if you did away with all this, you know, you'd become part of everybody, you don't have something, a label put on you more or less, you know, through the Indian Act and the whole thing. Maybe in the years to come they may do away with the reserves too, you know, maybe it's hard to say.

JOHNSON

When you look at leadership what kinds of qualities or skills or competencies do you see as being vital to effective leadership, if it's going to come? What are the things that are really critical?

BELCOURT

The critical thing I think really is that you have to change the act in government. You know there is so much red tape for any group to try and get something out of government. I don't know people need help, but if you really need help in a community, if you want to raise funds or anything like this for a certain project, people will come through. I would say you need a person that sees what is going on in government, I think it's like, I would look at a person who says well first of all I want to know the ins and outs of that government and every department. I would want to find out if we've got money as an organization from government. I would even hire someone from here that has the qualifications to go there and I'd want to know every piece of information I can, of every department where I may fit in on the economic development to help us out here in this community, or as a whole country, and that information has to come back. If this person doesn't give you that information then we fire him. You know we get rid of him and get someone that will work for me, in other words, that what I would do. I would...I'd have to know what that person's thinking is, really what does he want to achieve, does he want to achieve to continue the hand out system, you know, if this is his attitude then I don't want him. I want it to be someone that has - this is what we want and this is what we must achieve, if he says alright I've got ten things that I would

like to see done. First of all, we can't do all ten things immediately, but what is the number one priority. It is number one or number four, so if you people want number four, O.K. let's take number four and bring it here to number one and we'll work on that and let's achieve that. Then go to the next one, but it takes quite an organization really to do these things.

JOHNSON

Do you think the native organizations are really splinted up now with different target and project goals and they kind of compete with each other too?

BELCOURT

Well here again what is happening with, as I see it with the leaders, they fall into the hands of the government. Now there are sitting pretty pretty actually, drawing a nice big salary and have a board of directors, they are each getting an honorarium. They become quite happy now. This is easy money, getting several hundred thousand dollars a year in my treasury and expenses. I'm quite happy. So you must have. That's right they sit back until it comes to election time. You see and this is how the governments have really kept them quiet.

JOHNSON

Now in your own view if you look as leadership as a business do you find that you slack off occasionally when things are going good, or do you use a thrust continuously?

BELCOURT

Well in business I find, yes, that maybe you do slack off in a way of actually running the business, but yet you have turned around and you have hired people to do these certain things for you, and in business in my case, I'm interested in the end of the month statement, have we made any money or have they lost money. If they have lost money, why? I want that back, next month I want it back, and they go out there, they know that you mean business because they are the ones that have slacked off, and I don't know if you have people working for you and if you take a firm hand, as long as they are making you a profit and you are happy with the amount of profit, not excessive profit maybe but you've got a profit and your happy with it, the management is happy with, well you are not going to say too much. And then the end of the year comes and here you owe the government half of what you've earned anyway, so I don't know. I suppose you'd have to run the whole thing as you would run a business. That's what leadership is like.

JOHNSON

Have you seen any major changes, say since 1945, in the type...have the native organizations achieved certain important things since 1945, or has there been things happening or would you say that the splintering and confusion and diffusion is still predominant?

BELCOURT

Well since 1945 there was really, they didn't have anything. There was no leadership as far as leading people, maybe in their own communities some of them were looked up to more, same as anything else I suppose.

But it hasn't been until the last ten years I suppose that they have been electing their people through their associations of whatever it may be, in the last ten year. I think it was the last ten years really that they've learnt that you can get money from government to sit in office in their own association, they have learnt that. And I think really maybe the only change is that the native leaders from the communities, if they would get into government in order to make the changes, because that's the only place you can really actually change any of the Acts, so you may have alot of pressure but will it really change any of the Acts. They must get into office in order to make these changes if this is what ...if they could see this.

JOHNSON

Do you think that the attitude of the government with this carrot system they've got of funding native organizations for whatever purposes? Do you think that that governmental attitude is the most critical thing facing the native people, or is the force of discrimination out there in each community a stronger thing to contend with for the native person?

BELCOURT

Oh I don't think its really, I think the native people have been accepted. I think really its the native person himself. I don't really think its. If you as a person say well what the hell I'm a human being the same as you or anybody else, you know, and speak up, you know, if something is said, well hell the problem is really solved isn't it to that individual. But if you sit back and say yes, and hang your head down, and maybe go and get drunk, so it's ah a dirty Indian routine

again. I don't know if this is a way if escaping or what. But I don't know.

JOHNSON

Have you had any contact with Doug Cardinal? I understand that he has developed some economic development plans for reserves and Indian communities.

BELCOURT

He's the architect, isn't he?

JOHNSON

Yeh. Have you ever seen his development plans that he has developed?

BELCOURT

Well on housing, yes, I have on the block of wood type houses and stuff like this, which he designed and I believe they were around High Prairie, north of Gift Lake or somewhere in that area.

JOHNSON

You haven't seen his total reserve plans?

BELCOURT

No, no I haven't, the only time I ever met him really was when he was talking about the log type house of blocks of wood, it's like piling a cord of wood. This type of housing concept that he was

interested in, and which were built. They were just filled with mortar with cement actually like you would build a brick house or a brick chimmey. Mortar and wood were used, instead of mortar and brick, that idea. They look on a drawing, I've seen the scale models of them and they looked quite attractive, but I haven't actually seen the actual house itself.

I went on a fact-finding tour about two years ago I believe it was, the provincial government was talking about economic development to the Ministry of Indian Affairs in Alberta here, and he liked the idea, so what they did, they made arrangements in the United States, different places in the United States that were depressed, alot of welfare. On our first trip stop was at Denver, Colorado. Here there was a native person who had the idea of having a manufacturing of kitchen cupboards, and he said I could take a person with no education, he or she wouldn't have an education, and put on an assembly line making kitchen cupboards. I believe it was a two year period his gross revenue and he employed all these people that were on social services in his factory. He grossed seven million dollars. That's that association, and this is the things that we were looking at. What could be done out here. Where there is mass unemployment. Alot of the people on welfare could be put into smaller plants.

We went to Kentucky, here again they were building kayaks. Oh yes, another place in Kentucky, the same area was another factory started by people that had ideas in economic development helping people get them off the social assistance, making dolls, and it was unbelievable. The type of dolls they were making, lions and tigers and little baby dolls! They had these women sewing these things up. A regular assembly line.

Very successful, I just forget the amount of people they employed but it was unbelievable. They were selling to Simpsons Sears, all these big department stores were buying all these dolls and another one was making tents. There's alot of recreation in North America and they were making tents, different colors, you name it they were making it, and these were the ideas that we wanted to bring back when I was talking about economic development and what I tried to get the provincial government to do was to go out in Alberta and hand pick people who had ideas, that want to get on their feet and employ the people in that community, and we would put maybe two million dollars into a fund which we would maybe hire somebody to go out there in that community and find those people who would want to start something like this and the monies would be made available as a loan, not as a gift, a five year loan. But again something happened, some of the leaders that were in power were not invited to go on this trip, balked at the idea, and the whole thing died.

So when you talk about leaders, if the association had leaders that could get these things across to the people. When it comes to an election again, it's a dirty game. People are bought off with a bottle of beer, things like this. Because someone is successful running for the leadership of the native people, there's mistrust again. Somehow there is, I have that feeling because you are not one of us attitude, I think, and therefore they would never elect a person that would really try and help them out of that situation they are in, and really the people that are in power are really saying this, maybe through the back door, because they do have people working for them that are on payroll when it comes to elections if someone that is trying to come in for the leadership,

it's an all out campaign against this one person that may be successful, they don't want him there. That's the way I see it.

JOHNSON

So to stand on top of the pile you've got to be able to take the tomatoes?

BELCOURT

That's right, you can stand up and tell them what you think and there's a wall put up there, they don't see it.

I believe to get change and to get people actually in what the leaders should really do once they are elected, if they want to really help people is to use the electoral system in the association, like we do have in Canada. Not have just a general meeting where you might attract anywhere from 600 to 1,000 people to elect them, when there is 50 or 60 thousand people in the whole province. If they would say alright in every native community there will be ballot boxes, they would have to go out and campaign at every settlement, every community and the people then would decide, 50 to 60 thousand, say its 20,000 that vote, they would decide, not the 500 or 800 people that could afford really to come to these elections at a given spot. I think really that would be one step for change.

JOHNSON

So there's a bottleneck in leadership then on how you get there?

BELCOURT

That's right, well you see this is where again where the native leaders by keeping the elections in a small community they know that there is only going to be the selected that are going to be out there to it, there is some that want change of course. It might be a third of what goes there to the annual meeting, so if they could get that changed that they would have voting as you do in the rest of Canada. If that leader is a leader this is the change he would want to start with, but they don't see that because they want to be elected because there is money there. They are sitting pretty for a few years, or whatever they are in power for. If it's one year or two years they know they are going to be getting money for that amount of time and they get paid a good salary, so really they are protecting themselves and in the past, I know like the Metis Association has had one leader except for one term, one year for the last ten years, so they don't want change, they want to remain in the position that they hold.

JOHNSON

So while the organization's mission might be wider, the way it is in fact carried on in practice, you have a very narrow organization and its foundation is not in contact with the main group of people.

BELCOURT

That's right.

APPENDIX C

Doug Cardinal

The Perceptions of Native Leadership

INTERVIEW WITH DOUG CARDINAL

September 10th, 1979

JOHNSON

I wanted to record your actual perceptions and ideas about the problems of native leadership. The condition it is in and the advances of native leaders have achieved in the last 15 years.

CARDINAL

Oh, you mean the system of native leadership.

JOHNSON

What kind of competencies and qualities make for effective leadership?

CARDINAL

Well, I don't think in terms of native leadership, that it has changed much since the old ways. The people still rely a great deal on their elders and that is true leadership. You get two kinds of leadership, that which general society regards as leadership and that which the native people regards as leadership. They are entirely different. Alot of the native leaders, so called, who speak on behalf of the people do not really speak on behalf of the people. They are set up by government to speak on behalf of the people. They are financed by government to speak on behalf of the people and therefore they really speak on behalf

of the government. Now and then they do a big song and dance about the problems of native people and that makes them a good guy, get them good press, and that makes everybody feel they are doing their job.

(Nature of Leadership)

Native leadership really rests with the people on the reserve who are known as good people, wise people, knowledgeable people, and therefore people that follow their old traditional really have a stronger impact than people who have "more" adopted the ways of society. General society is marked by lack of principle and integrity. You do have that problem in native organizations too. There is one problem with native people, and I suppose it's not a problem. It is that they are individuals and therefore they don't really believe in group participation. Group participation is a non-native concept. It is because Europeans for 15,000 years have had an agrarian culture. An agrarian culture developed people that had to fit within some kind of hierarchy. Being in this hierarchy, they had to give up their individual freedoms to do so.

JOHNSON

You are saying then that group organization creates dependency and works against one's sense of being an individual.

CARDINAL

Yes. To be a true Indian you never give your power to a group. You are a totally self-sufficient individual. That's to be a man of knowledge. In the Indian sense, to be a complete human being is to learn

about yourself and learn about your potential and to be totally self-sufficient. Therefore you don't have to use other people or lead other people because you spend your time in leading your own life. So you don't need anybody else's life. You don't need anybody else's life.

If you do need to lead other peoples' lives then you are a sick person because you need other people's power to blow you up. The people that need the power of others to become leaders are not leaders in the Indian society per se. They are weak people that need the powers of others to become a whole balanced person. If you need the powers of others to become a whole balanced person you are not a balanced person. You actually are a very powerless human being. In the Indian culture, Hitler, Mussolini, Nixon and those types would not be leaders.

The problem is that within the Indian culture the whole emphasis and knowledge in the old way was to develop individuals. Because if you developed individuals then the tribe was strong, thus you could not destroy a people by destroying their leadership. The only way you could destroy the people was line them all up against the wall. Each one of them are individuals, so they were guaranteed in a sense one's own personal freedom. Individuality was/is for you to be totally self sufficient and owe nothing to any man so you are never dependent on any man. See there's a difference, the agrarian cultures developed avarice, greed and all the problems because there was haves and have nots. But see a hunter society, the hunters never...just glean from nature. Like if you wanted something you went out, if you were hungry, you went out and shot a buffalo or gathered things. You didn't have to take it from somebody else. You went out and got it yourself.

JOHNSON

Would a way of describing an Indian viewpoint be to say that a man can only eat so much steak, rather than to be acquizative or to hoard goods, leaving some with much and other's with none?

CARDINAL

Well there was no, and there still is no real status in gathering stuff. It is usually the man who gives away as much you can give away who is looked at as somebody that's wealthy. That man that draws all material things to himself is not necessarily wealthy. So its a different concept. We still have the give away dances when people come and that's the way they exchange things, I give them my car, truck, open my home. That kind of thing happens now.

JOHNSON

How would you describe the condition or the situation that the native people are in now?...with our materialistic goods and the interventions into their life style, so that they can't even harvest their natural environment. We have in fact made them dependent.

CARDINAL

Right, striving to put people through welfare.

JOHNSON

Is there any mechanism or is the mechanism already there in the native thinking that can deal with this?

(The Way Out)

CARDINAL

Well, the only way, not the only way because that's a box, I feel that the best way would be for the native people to discover how to get out of their syndrome themselves. The society has made them dependent... like made them dependent children and that's foreign, absolutely foreign to what an Indian is suppose to be in terms of philosophy and what he's sort of, for generations, species learned what to be. So you can't change the person over night to become a slave within a pyramidal system when he's been a free man since the dawn of time. And that people have always come to this new world because there was a sense of freedom. Rousseau wrote about it and changed alot of thinking in Europe, when he described the concept of an individual which was not by then lost to Europeans as they felt that life of reality worked within their hierarchial system as developed where each man was a slave including the leader who was maybe more of a slave of the system than the others.

The important thing for Indian people is to realize that they are still free individuals and that they don't have to bother with the boxes that society put them in. Most native people are programmed to be in the Indian box that society has put them in and they bought that Indian box. And there is no way that anybody can survive or live in the Indian box because there is no Indian world today. No place for it. You go to climb Mt. Everest, to find there's a beer can on Mt. Everest. There isn't a place where there isn't a man who feels that he has to conquer the environment to be adversary to his environment to conquer space, plough up the land, and destroy the harmony that's there. There is no

place in the world where man who lives in conflict with his environment and who has developed a culture based on being adversary to his environment rather than living in harmony with it...there isn't any place in the world where he hasn't been and left a negative impact on the environment.

So the problem is not to buy that trip and that to eventhough it appears to be successful it's a very short term success because there's just so much the plan can hack. Adversary man "becomes" rather than a harmonious thing that fits in with a chain of life, a disease that can affect the whole planet. So man is an organism, civilized man is an organism, and may be viewed as a diseased orgranism, and so for an Indian to buy that thinking when he knows with his 20,000 years of history and knowledge of living on this land, it's a very tenuous environment and yet he learned directly that you don't fool around with your environment. You over hunt, you die. You over burn, you die. You pollute a stream, you die. So the effects were quite evident how one should behave.

Technology has changed that, but technology isn't bad, it can be a tool, a useful tool, if put in the right hand, hands of people that have some values. So really what native leadership is to...real native leadership is to preserve, not the externeologies of the culture. Like there can be rituals, there can be costumes, there can be all the trappings of the way it was without the real meaning of "why" it was that way. What's the meaning behind the rituals and costumes and the cermonies?

JOHNSON

You are saying that if you can capture the meaning of the art form and maintain that rather than a form that has no meaning, survival remains viable.

CARDINAL

Right, see you can't build houses out of buffalo skins because there isn't any buffalo.

JOHNSON

Then there's no point in an Indian person seeking out the skills of being a buffalo hunter when the buffalo no longer exist.

CARDINAL

Right.

JOHNSON

What kind of a process occurs in an Indian person who doesn't buy his Indian box? There must be some kind of terms he comes to himself.

CARDINAL

Well first he doesn't buy his Indian box. That is the box that is made for him by society because if it's a box it's the box that's made by society, because society thinks in terms of boxes. I mean you just need to look outside and you see, as far as you can see, people living in boxes, various boxes, and that's a physical manifestation where those people are. What you see is where people are. They think in boxes,

they live in boxes, they compartmentalize their mind, they are pigeon hole people.

JOHNSON

They spend their life labelling.

CARDINAL

Yeh, and then everybody has to have a label, every act has a label,

JOHNSON

Phenomena or reality becomes described as a problem so you wipe out the problem.

CARDINAL

Yeh, so if you buy that you know then you become one of the 85 percent and they are the alcoholics. Because you might buy it with your mind, but you can't buy it with your spirit, your life force. Your life force as a human being you have evolved in a certain way and you have a horrible state of imbalance if you buy, if you buy that trip. Maybe in 15,000 years one can be as wrapped up into the system as everybody else is. But I don't think a free man wants to reduce his evolution to an insect level, and limit his potential - his whole being, his mind, his brain, his spirit. To be able to enslave himself in a 9:00 to 5:00 job and be a machine, a clog in society, in the wheels of society to keep progress going for whatever that is going to.

CARDINAL

The same "boxed" thinking, they (Europeans) have now, they had when they came in contact with a native society so you get...the native thought and philosophy is almost a total threat to civilized philosophy. Therefore the propaganda that is perpetrated towards the Indian thinking has reduced it to primitive thought. We evolved, first we were hunters, then we were gatherers, then we were planters, and then we now are civilized, not realizing that if you look back in the evolution of man it was the hunters that were not the killers, it was the hunters that lived with life and death, that respect their fellow man that didn't kill their own species for territorial perogatives. Like the Indians didn't do that, it was the agrarian civilizations that did it. And some of the agrarian civilizations on this continent that did it, and then when they got to out of line the tribes wiped them out because they weren't human beings. A human being, he would not kill his own kind for territory, no animal does that. It was unnatural to kill your own species. So they have rituals battles, games, rides, and they would gather and smoke their pipe and decide where the boundaries should be on a given show of strength. I mean even other species, apes do that, wolves, and man is suppose to be more intelligent.

JOHNSON

Man does live psychologically.

CARDINAL

Yeh, now man has the physical destruction of people however its not fashionable, so they go about mental destruction through programming in

their institutes for self destruction, like they have with the Indian culture with their educational system which is a negative influence on the Indian people.

JOHNSON

So in a sense the native observation of his environment, around him, he acquired a certain critical thought towards where he was, or who he was. Now if you are a native father and you are looking at these boxes that are cities building, and see that the next generation of children have to accommodate themselves to the limited housing that we have and most of it is up and in boxes. Would you take the risk to teach him critical thought, when you know your whole life is governed by an elevator or a stop light or the amount of box space, he can afford on his salary? It's going to bring the life out of the towers into the street. This is the kind of meditation I go through when I observe this boxing and the standardization. Those boxes are not very different.

CARDINAL

Well I would teach a child everything, but first teach him about himself and that is what the Indian way of knowledge is about. It means to help a person discover his own path and to be an individual, and that means that you do not accept knowledge outside yourself. All knowledge is within. It's a different concept of knowledge. For example, like Einstein never got $e = mc^2$ from a book, he got it from within himself. How to teach someone to be able to internalize and draw knowledge from himself from which he can chart his own path and select his own way. And then take the knowledge from outside for information only. Only

what is relevant in relationship to what path that he is going on is useful information. Never believe in anything other than his own self. Then you are in control of your life and a free man. One has to de-programme continually and individually. Therefore it is important to retain some old ways, some old ceremonies which assist in deprogramming.

Man has two sort of things, he has many things but he has two major needs. He wants to be a part, he's a gergarious creature, he wants to be a part of the group and yet he wants to be an individual. Well there is a fine line of being part of a group and losing your individuality, and you are not a happy individual unless you are a part of a group too, and unless you can contribute something to your fellow man, so there is a balance that you have to maintain, and that is different for each person. You have to regard each person as a separate species, and then you are usually correct because you know what may be somebody else's vitamins is somebody else's poison. One person can be allergic to strawberries, vitamins. Maybe all rats are allergic to something. But you can't treat human beings like rats, each human being is an entirely different individual. If you find out how different you are from other people and also how alike you are to some, then you don't feel bad, or down on yourself because you can't be like somebody else. This person can do this and I can't, therefore I am not like that person and therefore there's something the matter with me. They can eat something I can't, then there's something the matter with me. This is not an accurate conclusion. What one has to do is find out what kind of person they are and when you know yourself then you are not afraid to chart your own path.

(Leadership as Knowledge)

Leadership comes about by having...by your own evolution, because when you become a free man...when you go through the stages of knowledge in the Indian sense. The first level of a man of knowledge in the old ways is to not have any fear. How do you become a fearless warrior? Well the greatest fear is death, so you have to deal with death, you have to know what death is, you have to experience death by some of the old rituals and ways where they have you experience what death is about, and then when you understand death then you start understanding life, and you also realize that the most important thing is not dying, but the more important thing is how you live, and if you live properly and in balance, death is a transition, but it can be an awfully painful experience if you are out of balance with yourself. It can be terribly painful because you have too many things that you have to balance before you become in tune with whatever is there with that life force. Your life force and that life force. If they are to mesh together you haven't got a rough time. You have to face that. So you face that. You have to go through that experience and really it's a terrible experience to go through. You go through.

JOHNSON

The state of leadership is really the state of being, a state of being in balance. It's not a role to be played.

CARDINAL

No its not a role like you go through, for example, the old tradi-

tional way, if you want to become really truly in balance you can't seek leadership it has to follow you, by such experiences, maybe for some reason or other, somebody has given you certain responsibilities that has forced you to try to get your act together. In forcing you to get your act together you have had to get some advice from the elders. The elders assist you and put you in an experience, they construct an experience for you to learn about yourself. Like I say if you learn about the problem of life and death and you realize the only thing you have to do is to die, then you are a free man. You realize that if you do not live in a certain fashion the ramifications at your death are extremely painful as you come to terms with yourself and your life. Therefore you will conduct your life where you do not have to go through that terrible painful exercise. It is the most painful experience of all, worse than any physical pain that you would ever have to face. You go through that and realize that if you have a choice of living the proper life or being lined up against the wall and saying "shoot me", that's fine, I'll have to live the way I am because I will die in tune with myself. I have to die someday so its best to die than to actually live out of balance because I could not face my own death at some future time living out of balance. So you go through those experiences with the elders and then you become one with yourself. And then what happens if you become...when you realize what you are or what your potential is and you become in tune with yourself.

Then you have no bounds, if somebody tells you what to do, whoever - Her Majesty tells you want to do - you laugh and say how ridiculous. How bloody arrogant. You are deprogrammed. You don't click to attention at "God Save the Queen", or "Hail Mary Full of Grace", or anything. The

whole system becomes a rather ridiculous kind of thing to impose upon one, or to be a slave within a system. You realize the only thing you have to do is to die and you don't have to do anything else but.

Now that means that you have no controls, and you are not programmed to have controls like the society.

JOHNSON

Then the system and the way things are become instrumental rather than the only reality having a dominating force over life.

CARDINAL

Yeh they become the society then, you start saying why things are that are useful and some things that are not.

JOHNSON

Then you learn to select.

CARDINAL

Yeh you learn to select things from a position of knowledge and respect for yourself, and you say part of this system does not respect people, therefore this part of the system is wrong. This art of this system is very good it respects the individual, it is something to add to, so you add some energy to it to perpetuate it. This aspect is something that must be discarded and you have to put your energy into making sure its discarded. So you can help evolve the system to work better for people if you have some way of judging whether it is or not. Most people don't because they are too locked into it be able to see it

as it is.

So you can become a very powerful person if you have no bonds, no fetters, no chains, because the only way they can stop you from doing something is by shooting you. That still won't stop you because the idea is there, so you can't destroy the positive idea that contributed to the evolution of man yourself.

Like you have to watch out once you gain that feeling of power... watch yourself...people sense that they want you to be the leader. And then you have to make sure that you do not take that power and misuse it. If you misuse it, and it's very easy to, because your whole energy usually is spent on using your own power wisely and you sure don't need more power because its hard enough to deal with your own with integrity and without misusing it. So you have to learn that the next level in a sense in Indian knowledge is that of knowing how to deal with personal power that he gets from overcoming his fear of death...What you do with power when you give it away. It's hard to do. When you have the power to give it away. Alot of the Indian leaders got the power through their old ways and there are so many temptations in society that they never had before...cars and colored T.V. and big homes....

JOHNSON

They go through an indulgent period?

CARDINAL

Yeh and they misuse their power because they felt powerless before. There's been a cultural revival lately and they got their own act together and were able to defend themselves because they started learn-

ing from their elders and listening to them. Rather than, you know, listening to the society's teachers and missionaries and whatever, and they started learning from the elders and discovered how to become strong individuals. Many have lost in the next level of a amount of knowledge you see...how you use the power. Alot of the people misuse their power in the Indian society.

JOHNSON

So its a problem of responsibility?

CARDINAL

Yeh because so many temptations that when one should become powerful in this society you are bought off, and you become part of the system, which operates on a power ethic and they play chess with people's lives. Power games are always played in the upper echelon of the system. It isn't anything with integrity, none of the decisions are made with intregrity, it is the lobbying...the power...who has the most power...or who has the most backing with people.

So you have to...so Indian people get caught in that, but some of them now are have understood and are regrouping now and returning to their own communities and they are assisting their people and developing leaders among the young people and doing alot of ground work. Instead of putting their energy against the system which was keeping them down they have passed the point of you buying them. You see you have to buy the Indian box to fight out of the box, so they were fighting out of the box that was created by society. Here they were trashing around in this box and fighting, but you have to have really to have bought the box to

fight that hard. So some of them then have gone beyond that and say "Hey, you know, what's this? We don't have to fight them, we have to get our own act together. We have bought too much garbage from them", so native leaders start taking over their own education facilities and their own communities and their own programs and their own points of view and their own religions, and now they are starting to grasp a whole new outlook, they are developing their own economic systems and their own industries.

So then true leadership is coming out where the leaders go back to their own communities, because its lots of fun after while, you become pretty powerful you know how to cut through the system like a hot knife through butter. It's just very easy to knock down all the doors because people in this system have forgot what its like to be warriors. They are all weak and therefore you get hard playing this kind of game because there is just so much time so many times you win the game, you get bored with the game. Because for all their power plays they are very weak people. Because their chess board is a king and a queen and a pawn and a roque and they all have various positions and moves that are on a chessboard, and all their moves are absolutely predictable and if you are a hunter in the Indian culture you know that animals are predictable and every time they fall into traps, because, and if you evolved into a warrior in the Indian culture you learn the total hunting predictability and therefore you become totally unpredictable so you don't fall into traps of others and whatever. So you learn that the society, when you understand it, when you look at it and work with it for awhile like the Indian leaders have done in the last while, its entirely predictable and therefore it ceases to be a real problem.

JOHNSON

It no longer dominates them.

CARDINAL

No, because their chessboard is you know, their traditional chessboard and our chessboard is queens. We move any which way, so I mean who is going to win. So after winning awhile you think well that feel's good because you have lost so much, but then what. Well then you go back and start saying O.K. When it comes right down to it, it's a big paper tiger and nothing to be afraid of, because you have to have that in your mind to develop that individual strength, then you come back and you assist other people, help other people become individuals, and if everybody feels the same way and if everybody realizes what the system is and how it can be used to benefit them in a positive sense and how some things have got to change, not only for their benefit but for the benefit of everybody, then you can feel that you can be useful. Useful to your community. Useful to yourself. Useful to the general society. Then you can look at society. Look at the negative people who put native people down...discriminate. You know the ones that watch too many cowboy westerns. You learn how to deal with that. You realize that like Hitler and Mussolini or whatever, that they aid in your evolution. There is the point where you evolve working with nature, that's human beings. The real point that you contested nature and you evolved a brain, and then there was a point in our evolution that we would have sort have stayed still, but we introduced another element, and that was negative man. Man that was entirely negative to what a human being was about. So you had an ingrown kind of evolution happening.

(The Cross-Cultural Sweat Box)

Man forced man to evolve above man. So then you come to realize that, the bureacracies and the ~~within~~ people within the Indian Affairs Department, their attitudes, the attitudes of society, aid your evolution. They are like a sweat box you know, the old man throws on another pitcherful and says O.K. fight it through and see what you know about yourself...what you are like as an individual...test your potential as an individual. So you turn around and say these people who know nothing about freedom and who are negative in their outlook can be great contributors to our evolution, because they will test every weakness, every flaw, and every weird quirk in our being. They will clean it out of our being with the hammering they are putting us through. So you get 85% alcoholism, average life span of a native is 34, 35 years. They are doing a good job you know. The genetic pool is going to be very, very strong because the weak are dying out. It's sad to see so many millions of people being killed off, they are being killed off because they are weak, so what's happening is that by putting the native people through this terrible cultural genocide that society is putting people through is doing them a great service. It is making them all victorious, because that's what happens when you give them purification, the spirit emerges. To survive, you'll rise above it.

So you see a native people understanding and knowing governments and systems more than anybody walking down the street.

JOHNSON

They have a high political awareness is what you are saying?

CARDINAL

Yeh and they know where its at when it comes with trusting government directives, and politicans, whatever, whereas the rest of the Canadians all follow them down like lemmings into the sea. You know. They get caught up in supporting people like Nixon and Carter and Trudeau and Joe Clarke, and Lougheed, or whoever. Following these questionable people down to and the native people look at that and can't believe it. These are the 15% survivors. The 15% survivors - not as many survivors as in Viet Nam, not as many survivors as in the Second World War, but at least enough to plant the seed for the future. So the Indians are O.K. They are the only ones that are going to make it.

There is a tribe in the middle East, who are mountaineers and the Moslems around them persecute them, and tried to destroy them and assimilate them in the culture. About 500 years of persecution. All the grandchildren of those tribes are now in all position of power in that society, so the best way of evolving any species is to put it through a meat grinder, and if it either survives or dies, and if it survives it will either sprout wings, or grow long legs and run like hell, big antlers or increase its cranial capacity.

JOHNSON

In a sense when you look forward you are more optimistic about things that can happen?

CARDINAL

I think its a very exciting time.

JOHNSON

One of Maria Campbell's conclusions on native leadership was that if we were to get into power, we would likely be as oppressive as those before us. Do you think so?

CARDINAL

Not necessarily. That's first level...the use of power, that you learn about power, but how can you learn about power when you have been powerless for a couple of hundred years. You regain power and you realize what it used to be like, having power and how to deal with it in a positive way, and how it was dealt with in a positive way.

JOHNSON

So the individual has a turning point to where he has had enough and he'll do something about it.

CARDINAL

Well its like a wolf.

JOHNSON

Do groups collectively do that? Or is that a different phenomena?

CARDINAL

No. If you give power to a group the direction that power follows is towards the lowest common denominator in the group. Groups do terrible things, that individuals would never do. An individual never burns family in a gas chamber, but a group would because there is no

responsibility.

JOHNSON

They keep putting the other guy out?

CARDINAL

Yeh, there a shifting of responsibility. You are not responsible for your acts when you are part of a group. The thinking is, "I'm just following the orders. Other peoples have got to the same Holocaust, but more died on this continent.

So I don't believe that whoever takes power is to the disadvantage of a person. I see Maria Campbell saying what I've said, Indian people gain power in just being as bad or worse than the Department Indian agents, but that's another point. Once you gain power what are you going to do with it. Well if you are have the background of the Indian culture you know what to do with it, but by not using 20,000 years of history, and if you have that cut away from you, then you are back where you were 20,000 years ago in your evolution, which is nowhere.

That's what happens with the people that have all their power taken away like in this society, where individuals have to walk hand in hand from the cradle to the grave, and be responsible to some group or some bureaucratic structure, and they don't know how to deal with the power they have. But if you are the entire master of your life then you have the ultimate power over whatever action you make, and every action you make is a spiritual act consistent with your own life force and your own creator, which is an all powerful force. Then you understand power in a positive sense. You get Indian leaders now that are operating with

caution, and that whenever they do something it has to be a spiritual act. They are going along fast. They always work with nature. They work with the elders. They'll say this is the right way, even if its the hardest to simulate. I notice across North American alot of leaders emerging like that. That everybody can look up to. Natives that I've talked to from the States, leaders of the Hopi and Navajo nations, their leaders have evolved to that point. They don't have any fit within any heirarchy. They sit on millions and trillions of tons of coal, and oil in their reserves, so one of their chiefs goes and sits on the OPPEC nations because he belongs to a Navajo nation, he regards himself as a nation. The United States doesn't know what to do about it, but what are they going to do, hog tie him and drag him out. Highly embarrassing, but he does his own thing and he doesn't have to ask anybody, he doesn't have to ask the Indian agent to walk off the reserve because he knows that if the Indain agent, he'd rather...like there's a point... like Smallboy out at Rocky Mountain House, it's a point at which he says, well they hung my forefathers for being individuals, and if they want to do that to me that's how it is, but I will do what I have to do and deal with that I have be. That kind of thinking is important.

I feel very optimistic, I feel very excited, I think that when you learn more about the old culture and learn to be a free person, and that means that you don't have to be in any box. The problem that Indian people have to deal with is something I also had to deal, is not being in the Indian box, and not being in the society box, and not being in any box, but actual be a free man, and sometimes its pretty hard to be human being if you identify part of your own species. That can be rough too. So you come to terms with yourself in the lodge. You come to

terms with your own grandfathers. Come to terms with the creator. Say Oh my God I'm having a rough time being a human being and I can hardly, hardly survive. Look what we are doing to the creation! Look what we are doing to your handiwork. We're part of it, and I'm a part of it, because I'm a human being. And then you get down on your own species. Then you have to be reminded that you are a life force and you are an energy field. You are "that". If you get tired of being a human being, be an eagle and rise above it. You don't have to be a human being if that's the box. Be whatever you feel you have to be. Don't even identify with being a human being, because that is disturbing you. You are giving power to that group too. So you learn a great deal from the old ways and its all in being totally an individual. And only master yourself. Be answerable to yourself, to your own sphere and place, and to whatever that life force is that guides you when you are in tune. You know, you know, your answers are hard. You go in there and say what do I do? He'd say, Yeh I know you'd say this. That's the hardest way. There is no easy way. And then it doesn't matter what you be after. You can play any role you want architect, father, husband, boss whatever, because they are all illusions and if that makes the people feel comfortable. You don't have to wear your braids or whatever. If you are in a certain position and you want to communicate in communicationist symbols, or wear a symbol to aid your communication and if you wear a headdress that's not going to aid any communication, particularly on a job site, this can create havoc. So you just be yourself. You don't have to do anything. You know where you are inside..

APPENDIX D

Lillian Potts

The Perceptions of Native Leadership

INTERVIEW WITH LILLIAN POTTS

September 11th, 1979.

JOHNSON

You were born right here on the Montana reserve?

POTTS

I was born right on the Sampson Reserve, and I married into the Montana band adjacent to it.

JOHNSON

What level of schooling do you have?

POTTS

I completed my grade twelve.

JOHNSON

Did you attend school at Hobbema?

POTTS

I did for seven years.

JOHNSON

Were you able to attend when the school was under lay administration?

POTTS

No.

JOHNSON

You went to a public school off the reserve?

POTTS

I went to the Red Deer Convent for my Junior High, and I went to (well at that time it was a public school) a public high school in St. Paul, during the day. But I was residing in the Convent at the time.

JOHNSON

You have worked in quite a few leadership roles with band councils, haven't you?

POTTS

Yes I have. One of the most interesting ones was when I was in the 4-Band Council as the Chief of the Montana band.

JOHNSON

That was in 1972?

POTTS

1973 to 1974. I liked the challenging part of it and the work. I had never been involved in politics prior to that. It was a matter of really learning fast, almost overnight, I learned procedures, regulations, politics and to get things done. It was interesting and especially (so

because of) all the people that I met across Canada, and from Ottawa. It was very interesting. I've learned an awful lot from community involvement.

JOHNSON

What are some of the important things that you've learned?

POTTS

That I learned? I have learned, you know, to cope with a lot of things that I wasn't able to prior to that (involvement with the 4-Band Council). In the meantime I was more or less studying the people who came here; the people who encouraged and advised me. That has helped me a lot. It's remarkable how people behave in certain circumstances and places. It's also a real learning process for me; to learn about how people behave.

JOHNSON

When you were chief were you very close to your people?

POTTS

Yes I was, especially to the older people. (This was) because the one thing that I have maintained throughout the years, in spite of the fact that I went to outside schools as you call them (outside from the reservation), is that I have maintained my own language and I speak it quite fluently. This helped a lot when I was on the council, because I would speak whatever I thought, in whatever language I wanted to speak. The time that I was in St. Paul High School (I learned some French)

having got thrown into the atmosphere of French speaking people. Like (for example) at the Convent where I was, children were put into there to learn to speak the French language and I was in there (with them). Of course you had to talk if you wanted to get by. They didn't talk English (those sisters), so there again I managed to (speak French), I wasn't very fluent in it, but I understood it. I could read it. I could type it. You know, I understood every word that they said and I could speak it a bit, but I've lost that all now because I have had no communications with French speaking. I don't speak it. I do have a little bit of contact (with them French speaking people) in Wetaskiwin.

JOHNSON

In your experiences as Chief were there things that were really important for leadership, and how could a person express this nature of leadership?

POTTS

I think the most important thing as far as I am concerned is you have to try and look at people; as people, not just as your relatives and how close they are related to you. You have to look at people as being individuals and people. I used to kind of watch for, you know, the ability of the people on the reserves who were really striving to achieve things (and) who were trying to initiate things that would improve them in any way. I had a hard time with the whole council at first (you know when I first started) because like here in Hobbema they have four bands and there's thirty-one councillors altogether - plus the chiefs. That makes it a great big council when it comes to the four

band (administration) and then of course I was a woman.

JOHNSON

Did they take you seriously at first or did you have to kind of claim yourself?

POTTS

I did, I had to really claim my space there, but I knew that prior to going in there. I knew this would happen, so I put my foot down the first chance I had. I didn't have any problems after that because, you know, I had been one of the four chiefs. It was kind of...difficult and there were times when it was hard to decide things. There were 4,000... 5,000 people and one had to know what was best for all rather than for small groups of people.

JOHNSON

Is being a leader like that hard to bear personally? Is it a heavy job or are you able to share your strength?

POTTS

I think that it depends on the person. You make it as heavy as you want to. You can carry all the load if you want to, but you can also assign responsibilities, and this is what I used to do. Because I can't always be here (you know, like here and at the center as well), I have assigned responsibilities to the co-ordinators; so they are not left dangling in the air when I leave (that type of thing). So I'm not the only one doing all their business.

JOHNSON

You trust the ones that would work with you?

POTTS

Yeh, and I did the same when I was in council.

JOHNSON

So you in fact organize your time so you are accessible to the people and to plan?

POTTS

You have to do that; otherwise you are going at too fast a pace, lack time for thought and there's a lot of business going on.

JOHNSON

When I started to look into native leadership the only things I could find were a couple of criticisms of native leadership. The criticisms were a way of describing the problems they (native leaders) encountered. I was wondering if through your experience, what kinds of problems do you see facing the native people and where they have to organize?

POTTS

At the moment?

JOHNSON

Yes.

POTTS

One thing I see now, being an outsider from the council, is that the priorities are not set. I think that if the priorities were set, things will be done; they will not be left undone.

JOHNSON

You mean there are too many competing groups with too many programs?

POTTS

Not necessarily. There are so many things going on here all at once: recreation, education, housing, and roads and you know, priorities have to be set.

JOHNSON

So the four bands (council) is right into local-municipal government then?

POTTS

Yes, its very well into that.

JOHNSON

If you were working with a group on priorities how would they (the priorities) sort out for you?

POTTS

I think that education would be my priority.

JOHNSON

And what are the changes there?

POTTS

(Changes that) I would make, or.....?

JOHNSON

Yes; what are the things that should happen?

POTTS

I think that the children should be made to stay in school. We have far too many running around: twelve, thirteen, eleven year olds, fourteen year olds. They are not in school.

JOHNSON

Can you pin the reason for this and how it could be resolved, or is it a mixture of reasons?

POTTS

I think it's a mixture of reasons. Probably along with the mixture of reasons, the curriculum in Alberta has a lot to do with it as well. That's the way I feel anyway, because something in the school is not attracting these kids to remain in school. Something is happening that - they are refusing to go to school. So it's a mixture on both sides (I have a feeling). (Both sides is taken to mean student attitudes vs. what is being taught and how it is taught).

JOHNSON

If you were counsellor at the school, what do you think would be the main things that are troublesome? Is it the curriculum itself, what's being taught, or is it the attitude of those who teach, or how would you pinpoint that?

POTTS

That again is a mixture. From the way I saw it at that time (I'm not too much involved with the school now so I can't speak for the situation as it is today) but in the time that I was a student counsellor, the children were being pushed into one grade after another and they had never completed the prior grade.

JOHNSON

So the standard of excellence wasn't there?

POTTS

Yeh, the standard wasn't there and they were being discouraged at the higher level of grade (because) they didn't know the material from the previous grade. A lot of the children at that time when I was there (I was doing some reading with the ones that were having problems with reading, aside from what I was doing as a student counsellor), and I noticed that they couldn't read. They were in grade four or five. They couldn't read. So somewhere down the line, (you know), someone has failed them and very miserably.

JOHNSON

Do you think there is enough demand made on the students for them to understand that to learn something they have to put their effort into it? Are there many students that realize that or do they not seem to realize that?

POTTS

I think some do. I keep saying (you know) I don't like to be to pessimistic about the situation. I like to see the optimisitic side of things as well because (like) today you have a lot of people that are (you know) progressing at a very good rate and doing very well in whatever they are doing. Even at school the children are doing very well, but we are so busy trying to solve these community problems that the students are left out. We are neglecting the ones that are doing well (you know). Of course they are behind the scene, and what we see in front is only the problems. The ones that are doing very well are behind the scene, (you know) minding their own business, doing their own thing.

JOHNSON

They are not getting enough attention?

POTTS

They are not getting any attention; not even enough of anything.

JOHNSON

So in fact there are many very good things happening?

POTTS

There are tremendous things happening on the reserves here. There are so many good things happening.

JOHNSON

And you think that claiming this, would give them more pride and more encouragement?

POTTS

I think so, yes. And they have to from this school here. (Again you know just speaking for the Ermineskin school, because that's the only school here and the one I know. I've been involved with that school). There are a lot of children who are handicapped and there is no handicapped teacher there; no one is looking after this. These poor kids and being shoved into rooms with the more intelligent students and the more rapid learners. So how can they keep up? They, are the ones that fail. They are the ones that drop out. Something has to be done.

I was involved with the public health department (oh, two and a half years ago, you know I just moved from the health department (to administration of the Alcoholism Centre) but I know because I did the audiology test on the students. There's so many of them that can't hear. That goes unnoticed right through school. Of course they have to do something to get attention.

JOHNSON

And usually it's by being loud and rowdy! In your experience with the health department are there some health problems that are more

serious than others, or is it just the usual?

POTTS

It's just the usual thing. I can't say that there's one area that has more seriousness.

JOHNSON

Do you think that there's been any reduction in child abuse that occurs? Is it getting better? With the alcoholism programs, are they starting to help and lead this improvement back to the family life?

POTTS

I think so, because a lot of people have quit drinking.

JOHNSON

Have you any idea of the number?

POTTS

Oh my God, I don't know - a lot.

JOHNSON

Would you say a hundred have quite drinking?

POTTS

Oh... more than that; I'm sure more than that. But then again (you know) people see the ones that are drinking so naturally they put the stigma of that on the other Indian people who don't have the problem.

JOHNSON

So the major visibility, as far as the rest of society is concerned, is the small number of people who are continuously drunk?

POTTS

Well now, when I was working at the counselling services (you know); this was in 1971 - 72, we did a survey with the attorney's-general department, and surprisingly enough there were five people that were picked up fifty times in one year, so that boosts up statistics, (you know) just on those five people. We didn't look to see how many got picked up forty times, thirty times, and so on down the line.

JOHNSON

So then when a person looks at the alcoholism rate on the reserve, you can get a false impression of the distribution of it because of this recidivist factor occuring in the statistics?

POTTS

Right. We have the same problem in other areas of reserve life.

JOHNSON

In the long run you have become a much stronger person because of your experience as a leader?

POTTS

Well I have (I think). I have gained an awful lot of knowledge, strength and self confidence (you know). I am the type of a person to

just voice what I think and I say it, and sometimes it may hit the nail right on the head and it hurts, but it is mostly always true, because like I said before you know, I spend an awful lot of time studying people and societies, and I've done this without very much formal training. I've take a little bit of sociology you know, when I was at the University, it was quite fascinating, so (but) from then on I've done it my own.

JOHNSON

You did take some University. Was it at the University of Alberta?

POTTS

No at the University of Lethbridge.

JOHNSON

And what kind of a job have you got now?

POTTS

I'm the administrator at the Hobbema Alcoholism Centre; the alcohol and drug abuse center.

JOHNSON

How large is your staff?

POTTS

I've got 12.

JOHNSON

And how do you spend your time? Do you spend your time organizing?

POTTS

I have been (spending time organizing) in the last two months. I've had to sit down with the Secretary of the Centre and we had to plan, organize the job descriptions, and the roles of coordinators, and in the meantime (we were) working out the programs that we hope to initiate in the fall.

JOHNSON

How many types of programs are you running at a time?

POTTS

Somewhere near 5 or 6. We are hoping to get into the schools.

JOHNSON

Are these public information programs?

POTTS

Yeh and we will be doing a lot of home visits, contacts and follow-ups, and we go to different things (you know). They (clients) have a lot of things they get involved in as part of the recovery programs.

JOHNSON

So you have client loads of 200 or 300 people that you are working with on a recurring basis?

POTTS

Right. Yes.

JOHNSON

And how big a budget do you have?

POTTS

We have $188,000.00. This is funded 50% from ADDAC (and) 50% from Medical Services (Provincial).

JOHNSON

And what about the nature of the drug abuse problem? Do you think that has been increasing with the increasing population, or do you think it's at a level similar to what it would been 5 or 6 years ago.

POTTS

No; I think its increasing (unfortunately). Here (you know) from what I got, I was sitting on the board before I was the administrator, so I have an idea of what went on here. The Centre here didn't localize on drug abuse very much; we work more on the alcoholism side of counselling.

JOHNSON

So in fact the drug problem that was here in 1970 hasn't had a strong program working on it. What about the people who are having problems with drugs? Are they being treated at the adjacent hospitals or are they...?

POTTS

Yes, well... some of them come here, and then we refer them either to a hospital or the other referral centers. We don't hear too much back from them. There's been a few coming in here but not that many, but we could like to see more done on that area of drug abuse.

JOHNSON

So you are going to have a close liaison here with the school on the reserve and the schools at Ponoka and Wetaskiwin as well?

POTTS

Hopefully, yes. I'm hoping that the councils... (I haven't approached them yet, but I've been sort of hinting to them that I would in their office one of these days with a proposal that they hire one member from each band to work for me and (that) they pay them). So I hope they go for that program, and hopefully we will get a youth worker sponsored by the four band council.

JOHNSON

The staff you have here are trained from this reserve aren't they?

POTTS

Yes; they are well trained. They are trained from (at) the Necchi Institute, operating out of Winterburn. They are very well trained.

JOHNSON

So... how long have they had native staff? Have they had native

staff in here ever since they started, and have they had local reserve people employed?

POTTS

The Centre employs anybody because it is funded by the province so (you know) there's no need to be too specific as it should be band members, because ADDAC is provincial.

JOHNSON

I know you've got Ray on staff here, about four years ago. I saw him a couple of weeks ago and he's just a different person since he has come to Hobbema. He must be satisfied with his work here. I suppose ten years ago you wouldn't have thought there would be several hundred people who had quit drinking in that period of time.

POTTS

You see. we've been working on this. I was one of the more fortunate ones, because I was involved right from the very start. This recovery movement started way back in '69 or '70 (you know). A group of us got together and we thought we had better do something (you know) and its been moving along since. It was the tribal counselling services as first, and then they had the 4-Band centre along with that, and four years ago they amalgamated the two and this is what came of it.

JOHNSON

Have you got treatment beds here too?

POTTS

Yes they do have.

JOHNSON

In the trailer?

POTTS

No; not in the trailer; in the house. There are fourteen beds. We keep clients here for seven days, to get well and receive counselling, and then we refer them to other treatment centers.

JOHNSON

And then you provide follow up after the client comes back from the treatment centre?

POTTS

Yes; I feel that's very important and this is something the staff have been doing. In the summer it kind of slacks off because the people move about the province to pow-wows, rodeo, holidays, visiting and summer jobs.

JOHNSON

Is there any information on the kinds of persons who have problems? Are there any trends that you know about? Is there that kind of information available for you to work from (for you to plan your programs) or do you just follow the programs that are set up the Necchi Institute?

POTTS

I think (that you know, like) that part of drug abuse hasn't really been touched yet. It's been just coming and going, and like I said before, I would certainly like to do some program on that.

JOHNSON

So really what this organization is doing right now is working on the symptoms, treating those who have the symptom of the problem, but in fact you haven't begun (to address) the long (term) problem of 'why' or what the source of the problem is?

POTTS

And the other thing that I would like to say here is (that is, you know) we deal with the whole family not just the affected alcoholic or drug addict or whatever, because everybody gets, either indirectly or directly, affected by (you know) a person (alcoholic, drug addict, etc.).

JOHNSON

Yeh; an alcoholic drinks and the whole family gets sick.

POTTS

Not necessarily the whole family, but the whole family does gets affected some way or another. If we can start a family counselling type of thing, I would be glad to see that very much. If we can get a bit more staff we should be able to do this. It's hard you know. Supposing an alcoholic gets in here and the wife is left at home, angry (and) hurt

and (she) mopes around. This doesn't help the home atmosphere. While this one might be doing very well here (the afflicted alcoholic) but when he goes back home, he's all over again in the same atmosphere. So that doesn't help. I mean...there's no way he can stay sober unless she gets help too. It only makes sense, so if we can deal with the total problems I think it will work. Like I always say (you know), you cannot water a plant from the leaves, you have to water it from the roots.

JOHNSON

Your main interest has been in alcoholism and drug abuse and health services. You have counselled students. These are all very person-centred jobs.

POTTS

And I taught for a number of years too, so I know an awful lot of people out of the 4,000 living here.

JOHNSON

You have personal contact with them?

POTTS

I went to school with their parents and then I taught their children. When I worked at the health center I had been in touch with them.

JOHNSON

So what do you see as the major problems - poverty....?

POTTS

Well...it's not poverty. I always maintained that here in Hobbema we don't have any problems getting money. It (the problem) is how we spend it, and what we do with what we have. I think that's where the basic problem lies.

JOHNSON

So it's not from a lack of goods, its more from a lack of an attitude of management on the individual's part.

POTTS

That's the way I see it anyway.

JOHNSON

Have you seen some major changes and advances on this reserve in your ten or fifteen years that you have been active.

POTTS

Oh yes, I have.

JOHNSON

And what do you think they are? Are they positive things?

POTTS

I think that the most positive (I suppose the one that stands out more in my mind) is the fact the women have (come) out (of themselves) a lot more; (you know) voicing their opinions and really making things

happen.

JOHNSON

They are being listened too, are they?

POTTS

Yes.

JOHNSON

And you think that the relationship between men and women has become more equal now than....?

POTTS

Yeh; I think it has - a very high majority anyway. And the women are the ones that are running the homes. I don't care what the men say, its the women that runs the home (you know). They can put up a different picture in the front, to the public, but if their women have had it, everybody has had it in that family.

JOHNSON

You don't find that the group is torn apart by the conflict between women and men? That doesn't divide the group does it?

POTTS

No; it doesn't.

JOHNSON

There's just a fair share of women who are in decision making roles?

POTTS

And the thing that happens too is that, unfortunately for the men and fortunately for the women, we have far more women that are educated; that have higher education. So I think that it's good that the woman are (you know) taking over the reins, at least one (of the reins) anyway.

JOHNSON

Do you think that they are helping to educate the family.

POTTS

Oh yes; definitely.

JOHNSON

Do you think the quality of family life is stronger now than what it was ten years ago or fifteen years ago?

POTTS

With some I think its strong, very strong, showing great progress but a lot of people remain unchanged.

JOHNSON

Do you have any ideas about the prospects for the future? What do

you think about some of the movements or discussions that they (the government) have about the Indian Act? Do you think there will come a time in Canada when they will take the risk to do away with it, or is it a necessary piece of legislation to protect Indian rights at the present time?

POTTS

The Indian Act? I feel very different about that. I'm afraid I feel much different than the rest of the Indian people, but then again (you know) I don't like to be selfish about it, because I know like from the other reservations in Alberta, especially where there is real poverty - what is called real poverty... I think that until we as the Indian people lose this maternalism, or paternalism that's been shown us from a hundred years back or so, until we let go of that, not much can be done. But I think that the Indian people will be able to stand on their two feet and be able to accomplish things by themselves and be very proud of being Indian people (when the Indian Act is done away with). As long as we hang onto the treaties I can't see anything like that happening.

JOHNSON

That's your personal view? Not in your life span?

POTTS

That my personal view on it.

JOHNSON

And at the same time you say that you kind of understand why the other reserves want to cling to the Indian Act, because of the condition they are in at the present time? On one hand it protects them and on the other hand its the very thing that keeps them down.

POTTS

Yeh; there's so much variety or difference in reserve conditions across Alberta.

JOHNSON

So from your view there is a conflict area with yourself as far as the Indian Act and the treaty question. What about the women's rights under the Indian Act?

POTTS

That again I feel mixed up with, because (it) the number of people that we are allowing to come on our band lists as Indian people, (that) quote "are not Indian people", and we are allowing these people in from the front door and kicking our own children, who are "Indian", out from the back door, regardless if they are ready or not, because of no red ticket and change of that part (effect) I don't care for.

JOHNSON

You think in fact if an Indian woman marries a white man that he should take his responsibility and support the family, and that to change it around would be a form of paternalism again? The family still

doesn't have much chance to become responsible. There's a lot of conflict between the organizations over this thing; the Metis Association thinks it takes the whole steam out of their attempts to organize and better their conditions.

POTTS

It has done that. (Like) I was out at an all chief's conference they had not too long ago and I was amazed to find out that since I'd left the council that things hadn't gone a step further. They are still discussing the same old things (issues about treaties and the Indian Act). Nothing from what I could see; nothing has been accomplished or done.

JOHNSON

So it's a real block?

POTTS

It's a real block. It's definitely a real block; a stopper.

JOHNSON

In your different work that you have done, do you find that there are certain personal costs, do you find that you had a problem with your family when you couldn't do the things for them they thought you should do as a leader (and things like that) or have you really had a good experience at the outfront?

POTTS

I think that I had a good experience, because I. That again, was not just my family, but since I'm from the Buffalo people, you know, I got millions of relatives here, not just at the Sampson but all over, and the only thing that I... When it came to job selection and that type of thing, I tried to maintain the attitude of just selecting quality rather than who he was or who she was, because I've seen too many people that were put on jobs (you know) just (because of) the fact they are maybe closely related to the council or whatever (you know). They are put on jobs and they don't have a clue as to what to do; no ideas what they should be doing. They get bored and they stay home, and eventually most of them get terminated from their jobs. It's not fair to the person and to the council and to the business. I really stressed qualifications when I was on council. I didn't feel that it mattered where they were from as long as they were qualified to do the job. I think these are the ones who are supposed to do the job. That's the way I feel.

JOHNSON

And you consistently acted on that principle?

POTTS

Yeh; and its the same here. If my children were more qualified than the others, I would have to hire them. I would treat them as one of the staff; not (as) my child. It's hard to do mind you, it's very hard, but I think what you (must) do is put things in (their) place. Like I come here for business, so I do business. I go home and be a mother and I do that. I think that we have to know these boundaries.

JOHNSON

So in the leadership role you really have to accept the situation you are in and then work in that situation to the very best of your ability?

POTTS

Right.

JOHNSON

So you don't waste a lot of life and energy with conflicts in your mind about things...and you feel that you have the most impact where your power is inside yourself, and working in health and education areas? Have you had major conflicts with yourself about white prejudice or....?

POTTS

No; I never do.

JOHNSON

Then you never really had anybody do anything to you?

POTTS

No; like when I was doing my junior high, I was already in an integrated school, so I think that I have gotten myself to cope with that. Mind you I didn't allow anybody to push me around, but I still do that (i.e. not let anybody push me around) on the reserve. It doesn't matter where it is. Society is geared for competition. Indians also

have to compete -- take a stand. It doesn't matter what it is. It was the same in school. I found out very soon ((in) that very same school) the only way I was accepted was to be at the top of the class and that was were I was going to be and that's where I went, so (like you know) I played around with people for so long. It's worked with me and I'm sure it can work with anybody else. (You know) first of all I am an individual (you know). I don't try to be somebody else, and I consider myself as having been one of the most fortunate people from Hobbema; to have gone through an awful lot of schooling and experience, but I have made use of it. I have tried to anyway, and this has brought me to where I am today. It's really been a tremendous experience. I think that one of these days I'm going to sit down and write a book about my life. When I think of it (you know) it's really been a tremendous experience.

JOHNSON

You have had a good life?

POTTS

I have had a wonderful life; a few bleak years, but that doesn't make up for the number of years I've had a wonderful life, and I realize I make my own life. If I want to have a bad day I sure can find one in a hurry; I really can.

JOHNSON

So you are really conscious of those things - that one chooses his quality of life?

POTTS

I'm very conscious of it and I won't allow anyone to get me angry, because I realize that they are in control of me when I am angry, so I don't allow that. I get very upset at times, but I think its part of growing as a person.

JOHNSON

So your prospects for the future are hopeful?

POTTS

Very hopeful.

JOHNSON

Thanks very much.

POTTS

I used to be the one to have to make the speech in English, and one of the other chiefs would make it in Cree. I was always the one who did it in English.

JOHNSON

Did you have to write those speeches or did you always speak straight from the heart?

POTTS

I never wrote my speeches. I never had to do that.

JOHNSON

That certainly kept you life more simple.

POTTS

Yeh...right.

JOHNSON

Are there any qualities that you think a person in a leadership role should have (your chiefs or your presidents in Indian Associations)? Are there certain personal qualities that are really important for a leader to have?

POTTS

I think the person should have a name and quality. I still maintain that (you know) if a business is going to run you have to put the right people in there otherwise your business is just slip-shod, and if you can detect the people that can do it and be able to go outfront and say I would like this person to do this and that person to do that, I think that would be an asset.

JOHNSON

Are there problems with the band management with this business of electing councillors and chiefs and so on? You said something like you had to train the administrator because of the fast turnover of elected councillors and chiefs, or did I get mixed up on that?

POTTS

I have seen that happening and (like, you know) where there's too much authority even from the council, the administrators are tied, by Indian Affairs also. They are caught in the middle, and if they don't have any idea as to what the business is about, they are in trouble, but if the administrator who (you know) is going to stay on there until he or she quits the job, if at least one person in the set up has got an idea of the business functions and the business doings, the business should go on normally, and (you know) the administrator in the meantime depends on the council as to what was being done and what was not done and was intended to be done.

JOHNSON

The role of the band council was really to set policies, not to run the inside affairs of that section?

POTTS

No; the administrator has that job, but we find too many elected, short-term councillors trying to hang on to too much authority and it just creates more conflict within the atmosphere and the staff.

JOHNSON

So are you saying that when some of the people get on council or elected to council they think they are going to show somebody something and that they are going to change that and they don't stay long enough to....?

POTTS

Yeh, and that's another thing a lot of the people... Especially when you are sitting on the outside looking in, you think that "oh... I could make a tremendous change if I were in the council": I would do this, I would do that and I would be able to do this and I would be able to do that, but it doesn't work that way. You only have one vote and one voice in that council and that's the only thing you have for a tool, and there are thirty-one people in there, so the only thing you can do is be as persuasive as you can be about something that you think will work and if you can persuade more on your side (you know) that's the thing to do. You cannot go around banging tables; it just doesn't work that way. It looks easy from the outside, but once you are in there, boy it's not; its not easy; its a very tough position to be in, especially when you only have one vote. It would be different if you had all the band votes on your side.

JOHNSON

Then of course, the chief, does he have a vote at all?

POTTS

Oh yes.

APPENDIX E

Teresa Wildcat

The Perceptions of Native Leadership

INTERVIEW WITH TERESA WILDCAT

September 12th, 1979.

JOHNSON

What kinds of problems do you see in native leadership?

WILDCAT

My name is Mrs. Teresa Wildcat. My husband is Mr. Sam Wildcat. I am a treaty Indian from the Erminskin Band, Hobbema, Alberta, and my native tongue is Cree. I was born and raised and educated in Hobbema. I was also educated away from Hobbema. For high school I attended Red Deer. I guess you would call it a girls' school. I had gone to a convent. I was educated with sisters. Later I went to the University of Alberta taking a teachers' training program. I did not complete my teachers' training, but I have always remained in education in one way or another. I have recently finished a year of University with the University of Calgary. I feel I have done quite abit for my community trying to improve education in my home here and I would like to talk about education today.

What I have experienced as a member of this community and the little leadership I have and what I did with it. I feel that the people have been proof to me of progress that can be made. You often hear people say when an Indian becomes educated they become very foreign. Educated Indians become very foreign to their people but maybe I could explain it from my point of view. I always felt people have been proof

to me in my community, they have accepted me to a certain level and they have also respected what I believed. I believe to be educated is a very good, valuable asset in one's life, and I don't think I will ever change my philosophy on life. Educated people are very beneficial in their community, you know. Education does many things. I have found in people here too that among Indians, education means nothing, you know, it's not a priority. Education is never a priority in a native community, but I feel the more young people we educate, the more things will look different in the future. It's just a matter of people growing into this thing about education, you know. They have to believe education could do something for them and maybe this takes a long, long time with people. It takes a long time for them to believe that to go to school is a good thing, and looking at it now, the leaders within the community do allow education.

In 1968, I think it was, I think that was about the time across Canada, through Indian Affairs and probably with the aid of the native people, Indian Affairs became quite serious to tell the leaders of the reserve (it was a very vital and problem period) we must have a group of people called school committees. And in Hobbema in 1968 the Four Band initiated or agreed to organize a Four Band School Committee. I don't know, today now looking back I don't know if it was such a wonderful move to start from the Four Band level, maybe it should have been started at a lower level where each Band should have been given this opportunity to organize. Each Band should have had a department within their administration called education, because today that's exactly what's happening in each little band. Each band now I understand within the Four Band level are saying let's organize a committee called educa-

tion. Like with the Ermineskin Band here, Ermineskin administration is saying let's have a department called education. However, you know, there was a Four Band School Committee and today education in Hobbema as far as Four Band is concerned has zero control in the administration, of the school. That's why I'm saying maybe it should have been done in a more reserved way. Each band should have understood what education is all about.

JOHNSON

You are saying that with the Four Bands, the priority is not number one for education?

WILDCAT

Well education anywhere in a native community is never a priority. Some of us we talk about this, you know. Some parents are serious about their children. Some parents here and maybe in every native community understand education and they are very serious about it. And also some parents, in the minority, believe that they must try to give the education to their children. What I am saying here, see Indian Affairs came to instigate the idea that there should be an education committee, well that was a good thing. I agreed with that.

JOHNSON

Do they have any power, or are you really saying they have no power?

WILDCAT

Well school committees could be very powerful with the help of the chief and the council but it is also true that school committees are very powerless. They could have either you know. They could always be dictated to as well, as I understand what happened. Two years ago Indian Association made a complete survey of school committees in Alberta and that survey was given to me, I read it and that's how it read. Some school committees through Alberta have been very powerful, you know, they were ready to take over education, but because of the chief and the council, you know, they were never given this chance. I would say that happened in Hobbema. At one time here the school committee was a very powerful committee and maybe perhaps that should have been the time, the people should have taken over their school. But even today, you know, they say there is a school committee but its so disorganized. Now they don't even have a responsible chairman. They have a chairman, but this chair person who sits on (and I understand, I am not part of it anymore), a rotating thing - you know, this month I'm chairman, well next month you are chairman. It's not a very consistent thing to be chairman of the school committee.

JOHNSON

So you're saying that in the group that is the school committee there is no responsibility or leadership taken of what's being done?

WILDCAT

Yeh, right now that is what is happening here in this community.

JOHNSON

And there really is a need for strong leadership in the school committee?

WILDCAT

Yeh, but another thing is happening. Some bands are creating their own education department, like Ermineskin is going to do that. We are in the process of organizing an education department, you know, here under Ermineskin administration. Like we have every other department, we have the housing department, we have the roads and maintenance, recreation, social services, land use, but no education. Well how can you run a proper administration if education is nothing? That's what now some of them are saying. So some do realize now, education is a very important factor in one's life. I think that younger people are saying this. Anyway coming back now again to education and leadership, perhaps I had maybe another I should tell, you know, something about myself, what happened in this community. At one time I have been a councillor, you know I sat on the band council for several years and sitting on the band council too was an eye opener. I learned many things. I learned about local government, I learned about our administration, and maybe politics, you know, the local politics, the Indian politics. Perhaps I should say Indian people aren't that much different from other people. You know we always say the Indian people do this, Indian people do that, but I think people are people, no matter where we are they are people, with a body, mind, soul, so I think what people do wrong, is not too much different from what people do in Wetaskiwin or Edmonton or Tofield or wherever. They are people and make mistakes.

Talking about leadership in the community, I am maybe going to express my personal, you know, my personal view on this. I feel most leaders in native communities, Indian communities, are lacking education. It's always going back to education. I feel that the younger people that sit on the council that have a little bit of education or a minimum education usually understand, you know, that their community has to progress (so again education plays a big part in every community, you know) where people are educated they see the need for improvement. They see the need that better things could come to their community. So I would say that perhaps with patience, encouragement, cooperation, from the governments both provincial and federal, if we have educated people then perhaps our communities will look better. I think the young people are beginning to see this also.

Maybe I should tell what happened just recently here in my own community, Ermineskin Band. We had an election just recently. Before the election a group of people decided to do something different. Somebody said it's time we need a change. Maybe the word change was a thing to say. In a community where I live the people, you know, take things for granted. For years we do this, for years we live this way, but one day someone says well we need a change. Let's do it this way, and maybe that's how progress happens. So I think people, the way I'm beginning to read it, are beginning to realize that maybe a change should happen instead of being contented. The chief and the council for years have been structured this way, or they have been doing things this way. The younger people are saying now, it cannot be done that way. Let's do it a different way and this time what they did they called a meeting. They wanted the candidates to tell the band members, why they

are consenting to be nominated to run - to be a leader. Why do you do this? Is it for the money part of it? Or is it to serve the people? Maybe again this is progress. Progress has happened in this community. People are saying we want to hear you Mr. Candidate. Why is it you stand there. You want my vote? Well I am asking you to tell me what you are doing for me, you know.

JOHNSON

Are they asking the candidate for a commitment as to where he stands?

WILDCAT

Yeh from the candidate. So maybe things are happening. I think things are changing.

There is another thing again about leadership. I think the women have to work hard to be recognized. Women like other women in the world, you know, native women, Indian women, have to work hard to be recognized for what they are. They have a potential. Women are strong people. Women are as smart - have as much brains as the opposite sex. So I think woman have to work hard to get that recognition that other woman are getting in the other societies. So that's another thing that must happen. It is happening but its not very obvious, you know. I think its happening in the native communities, but still the woman have to work very, very hard to receive recognition and justice.

JOHNSON

Women do alot of ground work but they don't get the status posi-

tions?

WILDCAT

Yeh, exactly. We could see that in the band offices. Who runs the band office? It's always a man, there could be many women there, you know. A strong woman there could run an office perhaps more efficiently than a man, but because she is a woman they will never run that office. So I think today woman have to work harder to receive recognition.

JOHNSON

Has the condition of women changed in the 30 years that you have been on this reserve and observing?

WILDCAT

Yeh, it has. It has changed I think again because of education. I notice with the younger families, the mothers are more out spoken and they want to be more independent. Consequently I think what has happened in this community, Hobbema, there are alot of working mothers. Of course that's not again too much different, you know, from the other societies, from the larger societies. But I have seen a great change, you know, even looking at my grandmother or grandmothers, the way they were - very home type, being contented to, you know, just to be at home to be a housewife. I think today things are more demanding. The way of living could never be the same again and I feel not just for women this time, I'll just say that for the young people. All this bit we hear about native culture, native language, the young people in the school - (I was talking with one of the counsellors, you know, social counsellors

in the schools, she is a woman and she is my sister, Mrs. Young, and she was saying the young people) are not interested in looking at the past too much. What we must be telling the young people or what parents should be doing in their home I think, is a better way to put it, is telling their children identity is important. Because today when you look at the teenagers in the school they want to be like other children, they want to be the same, they don't want to be different. It's that equal status thing, what do you call that, the peer group? They want to follow what other Canadian children are doing, and I don't think its because, you know, they hate to be Indians, but as I say this teaching of culture and language, if its going to have any meaning in the school, it has to come from the home. If its not coming from the home, well the teachers surely will never, they are not the people to instill that feeling into the children. If it's not started at home, culture and language will never mean anything in the school. In fact I hear this year (I never went, I would like to go to the school one of these days, but) they have totally taken out culture and language out of the elementary, junior high school, and the only school or schools may I should say, that are handling culture and language are the kindergarten and the higher learning schools.

JOHNSON

They are not interested in the past. Maybe you can romantize the past and it doesn't help them solve their problems now. Perhaps there should be something being taught now to the young adolescent that will enable him to cope with his environment.

WILDCAT

I think so, see someone said so many suicides are happening, so many tragedies. I went to a meeting the other day, you know a parish meeting, and some woman there were lamenting and saying, you know, look at our young people. Well they are talking of putting some kind of a youth centre there at the old residence. I guess that will take awhile to organize, but at least, people now, I think are beginning to realize we must do something as a community. So that's what they are saying. Well they have an alcoholism centre but really that's more for an older group, for the alcoholics and the drug addicts. However it's the young people, the children, nobody does anything it seems for the children, apart from what they are receiving in the school and even today we were saying some of us that the school is not the school we had maybe ten or fifteen years ago, when the school was really organized, like even the time when you were here, I think the school was still a good school. But the school has really come down, you know, and we were saying maybe now this is the time Indian people should take over their school. They are so unhappy, alot of them, maybe it's time they should take over their school and say well I will improve my school, I will make it the way I think it should be. I am a member of this community, I want my school structured in such a manner, but maybe before that happens as I am saying, you know, some bands now, like here in Hobbema, like Ermine-skin Band, is saying well let's teach the people in the community what school is all about, but maybe some of this has to happen too before this other thing can happen within the school.

JOHNSON

Do they have any understanding about suicide and drug death and so on? Do they know what kinds of children it happens to? Is there a common theme that identifies these children apart from the other children?

WILDCAT

Well when some of us, like that evening there, it was mostly women again, you know, that were sitting around at this meeting, and one of them had been a social services worker, she had been working there for many years, and she felt its again, I will go back to the home, you know, and to education, this lady said it's always in this one line of families that happens. It's not that minority of families I was just talking about where parents are interested to educate their children and to find them the best schools and all that, it seems to be a certain group of people where parents maybe don't care. At one time we had the residence where people cared to look after children but too, that was really perhaps not the best way, and she said who are the children that are committing the suicides, well it's these certain families where parents are drinking, and parents are not caring.

JOHNSON

When I was on this reserve, and my class was in the junior high school, the ones who committed suicide that year were always the first child of 14 or 15 year old mothers. The children had lived in home after home, or with relatives, until he was about 14 or 15, and the thinking seemed to be if I die that will make her cry. I was wondering if social services had any figures, if they could pinpoint a certain

group? Yet today I found out that more and more of the young mothers were keeping their children rather than turning them out for adoption or letting them live "around". Of course there are more suicides than in 1972 per year. The problem appears complex. Is there really just as many young girls having babies at early ages as there would have been in 1972?

WILDCAT

I think so. I guess that could not really change. Maybe again going back to education, you know, and the thing with the native people is, it has always been that way. It has been like an accepted thing, you know, if a young person, a young girl has a child, its really O.K. as far as the people are concerned.

I wanted to, going back to the culture and language of native people, I wanted to tell you something beautiful I got from my son Brian and his friend. What they think about culture and language as two young native, young men, people, what they say about the symbols, you know about the headdress, wearing a feather, wearing leathers, you know, leather clothing, talking your language. They both agreed. those two young men, that this is a fine thing. It's a good thing to wear a headdress, to wear beads, to go to powwows, even to rodeos (you know, native people like rodeos) and even to talk - their language, and to set up a teepee. This is all fine to do all this. The difference is everything has its place, you know, like powwows have their place, they have their purpose, we should go to them, you know, we should wear our headdress, we should wear our costume. Indian ladies should wear their shawls, their moccasins. They felt that was beautiful to do that. You

could set up your teepee. But to ask young children students, you know, to ask them to go back to that - maybe we put it to them the wrong way, you know. Its not going back. There is a difference. Its appreciating what you are. It's identifying yourself who you are. I am proud I am an Indian. I am a Cree, I am a Chipewan, I am a Blackfoot, like I'm whatever. You know, name it. That's good to feel that way and to do all those things. Maybe we are, in the school, using the wrong turns. I don't know what we are doing in the schools, but we are turning children off. I said to my son, It's too bad you and your friend, this Ryan Martin, you could not go to the school and say this to the children, especially the teenagers in the junior high school (that's where they really get so turned off, you know, they say well why learn this language, why should I learn Cree. Even I have heard this when I was teaching language and culture. What benefit is it to me? I'm not going to use it to buy my groceries to do my business, you know? Who has any use for Cree? But that's not the idea. Like Brian and his friends say its got to have that and Indian people should, should be proud, and children should be proud, but maybe its the way we are presenting it to the children. Maybe they feel....

JOHNSON

That the cultural forms are stereotyped and dead instead of being alive and vital.

WILDCAT

Yeh.

JOHNSON

How do you feel as a person, do you feel that the core of the Indian thinking would be lost without the education tool to strengthen it, or do you think maybe that it will remain there, that school is really perhaps not the mechanism to strength that?

WILDCAT

I think that school is fine, but as long, and even one of my children said it (in his, Darryl was writing a report that's Darryl my son, who is in Camrose Lutheran College now. He said) something like this, as long as school sits here and the Indian parents sit there, two separate places, the school will never do anything for the native people, and maybe I think its real, it's very real. But if parents go to the school and control their school, you know, hire their teachers, well maybe first of all have a school board, a native school board, you know looking at a native community and hiring their own teachers. Looking at the curriculum in the school, what is on the curriculum. I think if all those things happen and even Darryl was saying that then school will mean alot, possibly then parents, or school would mean something in a community.

JOHNSON

Then parents and the children may come to feel responsible for educating themselves?

WILDCAT

Yeh right now there is no responsibility because schools are still

under the federal, you know the federal authority and nothing happens it seems between school and community. They are really two different things. Another thing I don't know if I mentioned it earlier when I talked about school committees, when some of us and it was mostly the woman that were very active members in the school committee, like Mrs. Mabel Bull. I think you know Mabel, she's quite an elderly lady but she understands what education is. My sister Kathleen and people like Lilian Potts. I don't know I felt that maybe women more men understand the value of education, you know, what education would do in a community, and what I wanted to say here about school community. The members that sat on the school committee, what they had tried to do in the community. We had tried on our own way, you know, to go to the parents and to tell them education it's their responsibility, and sometimes we would say to the parents what do you understand about school, and you know, why do you send your children to school? Do you feel you are, you know, responsible for this, you know, responsible to educate your child? To have your child educated maybe is better. And they would, most of them would say, and this was in 1968, it's not up to me to educate my child. Well who then we would ask? Who's responsibility? Well the priest is there, you know, the priest that's their responsibility, you know, they are the people that should educate my children. Maybe not the priest, its the government, Indian Affairs are there. This attitude is one thing, that's really sad you know.

JOHNSON

They are dependent on Indian affairs to do all for them?

WILDCAT

Yeh, the chief and the council keep saying its Indian Affairs, why should I spend money (band money). That's what I think you find in so many communities, you know, the chief and the council will never, never want to spend a cent to help a young person to receive education. Of course again maybe I should say here in Hobbema that's been different. I think we have been lucky here, just to give an example, from my band, like they support the post secondary students, if students are going to college or students are going to university even to the technical schools like SAIT and NAIT. Like to the university and college students they allow $500, like first semester they give $250.00 to a student and the next semester the balance, $250.00 for each semester.

JOHNSON

Do you think that this Indian Act maintains the reserves in a sense? Do you think that the chief and council view the Indian Act as a protective cloak at the present time or is it a double edged sword dividing the people?

WILDCAT

I find that right now the chief and the council are very dependent as you say, it's kind of a cloak for them, you know, it protects them and they cannot see, it also is a great hindrance, it hinders alot of things, the Indian Act, it makes the native people very different, but like the status of woman, its also one of the problems of our time, some of us realize that it has to change and I think its going to change. I don't know about the status of women, but the Indian Act perhaps played

its card at the beginning, this is my personal interpretation. I think at the beginning maybe it was a good thing to have an Indian Act, you know, it kept the native people together perhaps, you know, they did not separate themselves, and they of course, the word reserve too played alot to do with this, keeping the Indians together, but I think the Indian Act itself today, the leaders want to keep it that way. They do not see that's a hindrance and it does hinder, I think, alot of things.

JOHNSON

So as the present time would you say that the prospect would be that the local government on the reserves and turning the responsibility over to the band and council, being done within the Indian Act, you don't think they are going to take the final risk and go to do away with the Indian Act, that they in fact...

WILDCAT

They would protect it, in fact they are protecting it very much, like that's the issue at the National Indian Brotherhood. Next week there they are going to have their conference and that's the big issue there, you know, what do we do with this Indian Act.

JOHNSON

Is the thrust to take the risk to wipe it out?

WILDCAT

Yeh, very much.

JOHNSON

And then another issue is about women retaining their Indian status when they marry outside, and this is dividing the groups?

WILDCAT

Yeh, very much. And what, I guess in 1886 that's when this was an issue until that time. I think that's when they decided about women, in 1886, you know, like the women that had married out, either to non-Indians or to Metis people, and what they were doing in 1886, they legislated that any woman who marries out still retained their status, but they became red ticket holders, is what they call them. But later on in history, I don't know in what year all this was changed (1952). That's what I just read yesterday I think.

JOHNSON

Now some people say this legislation is discriminatory against women, and then another group of people say well hey look, you know, we were put on the reserves because at that time we were starving and it was a convenient way of keeping us together, but in fact what was happening in white society was when a girl married, she married into the husband's family, and the white man would be responsible for his family. It's not a question of discrimination, it's a question of responsibility. I was wondering if the discussions you've heard contained this viewpoint?

WILDCAT

Some people are saying that a woman that marries out, it's really

their decision, and if they were following as you say, you know, in the larger society, the way it is the man becomes responsible, you know, for his partner. Alot of people are saying no one forces anybody to marry out, and I think in fact like even here in Hobbema, I know of a incident in fact she is my relation, an aunt of mine, she is a red ticket holder, but on her, you know, like right now she doesn't live here, but she lived here all her life, she had married a Metis man and they lived here, they made their living here, but now she no longer lives here, she gave up her quarter and her house, she lives in the townsite, the Village of Hobbema, but you know she was one of them, she was a red ticket holder.

JOHNSON

And she's as much a part of the community as anyone else?

WILDCAT

Yeh, especially at that time of course now, you know, she lives in the Village. So I think it depends on how people look at this. As I say again of course, if woman are fighting for their rights then maybe that's where this came from, you know, it was a group of women, it was the native women from eastern Canada, that are always very uptight on this issue.

JOHNSON

And they look at it as discrimination?

WILDCAT

Yeh, they really look at it as discrimination, you know, the women's organizations.

JOHNSON

Do you think that lines are rather strong on these two issues?

WILDCAT

As far as I'm concerned, and I won't want to criticize the chiefs, maybe they have their right, you know, to keep insisting we will never change, because that's the way. The Indian Association is very strong and of course the chiefs have part in the Indian Association. I don't think it will change, you know.

JOHNSON

So the Metis Association, a large formal body, the Metis Association they kind of feel that both of these issues, the status of women, and the retention of the Indian Act takes steam out of any unity or any movement towards progress for the native people.

WILDCAT

Yeh, I think so. Yeh, where we should be working together, we are both are both Indian origin, maybe that's were the separation happens, you know, people really feel uptight about it. But then again you know, some young people are saying maybe it's good to get rid of the Indian Act, you know, because it really restricts people, and I think it does. I don't know, like one of my children was telling that to me, he said

what about this woman thing, the chiefs should be consenting, you know, I agree with those women said my son. So I said to him, I really disagree with it, I rather want to be on the side of the chiefs, you know they are very strong on this, they will never give in, and I said I will just explain it to you this way. If chiefs ever consent, you know, every woman that marries out is to keep her status and then to bring their children and their husband, pretty soon no reserves will exist or space, and maybe no Indians will exist either. I think that's the way the chiefs are looking at it. This way it keeps the Indian people Indian maybe, you know, it keeps them as a community.

JOHNSON

So you don't think in your lifetime that you will see a change in the legislation in doing away with the Indian Act?

WILDCAT

Well the way I read it right now with the leaders, you know, with the Indian Association especially, I don't know what the National Brotherhood is saying, but as far here in Alberta the Indian Association is standing strong. I don't think it's going to happen this time, and another thing maybe I would like to mention at this time. I don't know if you have read the native peoples' paper,

JOHNSON

The Native Voice put out by the Alberta Native Communications Society?

WILDCAT

Yeh, one article talked on leadership just this summer in August, I think. I thought it was a pretty good article, and they said something like this talking about native leaders in our community, you know, be it chiefs or the Indian Association of Alberta, or even the Metis Association. Where are our educated young people? You know, where are the lawyers, or where are the professionals, you know, young people who are leaders already, we have them. Are they being shunned away, you know, they are not wanted. Those are the people that should be leading the native communities. But maybe again, as I say, Indian people have to be educated before they could accept professional people like this. Maybe in a few years that will happen, I think.

JOHNSON

So you think there's a problem for the educated Indian person, the professional Indian person finds that training has transformed him to where he doesn't really belong in his community as much as he may belong in the other communities, so he is kind of split in between?

WILDCAT

It's rather sad you know. But again I don't know, like something happened here, I keep going back to my own community because that's the one, I'm living here. What happened here during the summer, they have hired Wilton Littlechild, you know that's a lawyer in Alberta, who is a Cree and is a member of this community, so maybe a little bit a change is happening, you know. As I say I think that is going to take time, you know, and I think, I am sure I don't only think, I am sure better

leadership is coming to the Indian people because of this more educated, professional people, you know, young people are training to be professional people.

JOHNSON

What do you think about the business of federal funding for Indian organizations, do you think that's a double edged benefit?

WILDCAT

I think so, I rather want to agree with the southern people. I don't know if you know September 8th, 1979, at the last Indian Association meeting my husband went, you know, because my son Darryl was being presented that Wilton Littlechild Award, and when Sam came home he told me something happened, but some people were disappointed he said, and to me that's a good thing he said, what those people from the south are asking for. They are now, the southern people I understand are looking at the Indian Association of Alberta, you know, its a native organization and they are saying, this organization could be more effective if it was a lobbying organization, you know, but its not doing that, the Indian Association.

JOHNSON

Are there too many competing goals for the Association?

WILDCAT

Well not enough lobbying power to change legislation yet. I think I understand what they meant, like Indian Association become another

bureaucracy for native people. See we have the three bureaucracies. The Indian Affairs bureaucracy, that's a regional office I understand now everything is concentrated, there are no more district offices, we just have the regional office. But someone tells me that when Harold was the president of the Indian Association, the thinking of Harold I think at the time he was president of the Indian Association was to dissolve the Indian Affairs bureaucracy so Indian people themselves could be in control of funding and everything, but it didn't happen that way. So really there are three levels of bureaucracy for us people that live in the community, or maybe if we start from Ottawa, you know, there's the DIA, you know, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, and then coming down here, you know, in each province we have a regional office and then if we want to include, because they do get alot of funding, there is the Indian Association of Alberta. Instead of this money going out to the forty-two reserves, you know it goes into Indian Association for their program. Then we have our local bureaucracy which is the chief and the council, so what the south is saying right now, let us turn this Indian Association to a lobbying organization, you know. Where those people will be taking issues to the government and talking for us, you know, the Indian Association people, and then the money they receive for funding economic programs should really come to the reserve level. But I guess that did not go through, you know, at the last Indian Association Meeting.

JOHNSON

So they are in a state of a high degree of conflict and division on the specifications that come with Federal government funding,

WILDCAT

Yeh, especially the north and the south bands of registered Indians. So see right now alot of money I think sitting on the Economic Development Committee for my band. I said to them last night some of us, we should be helping the southern people, I think they do have a good idea, you know, more money should be pouring into the reserves for Economic development.

JOHNSON

So they are kind of wanting that Indian Association to be adjacent to the authoritative chiefs and council and to be a spokesman for them and not have the Association plan for internal government arrangements on the reserves.

WILDCAT

It was interesting how we worked to get our Muskwakees Cultural College. In where she told the Four Band what she had done for Morley and for the Blackfoot, but they were also working, but they were also working through the Mount Royal College, so she said "I have a person for you, he will come here and that's a Mr. Silverthorn, he will bring you the courses here". So come September 1974 we were 53 people sitting in a classroom, well studying this whole thing, but 53 didn't stay, 23 stayed, and some of us, you know, quite elderly people, like myself, my sister Kathleen, and Sylvia Oldpan-Bear, she stayed, she was involved in social development. Lilian Potts, Mel Batise, and even elderly men like we called him Little Big Man, his name is Belcourt, he was about 55 years old then. Of course I wasn't this old either at that time.

Anyway we said let's go and let's stay, so we stayed a half a year with Calgary now and out of this 23, 5 of them today have graduated with B.Ed's. I think they will invite me to their Convocation. Last year two of them graduated and one of them was this Mrs, Sylvia Lee. She was 42 years old, and Ida is one of them (_____ Harrisonbow's wife) and this spring I think three more graduated this spring but I couldn't make it, they invited Sam and myself but Darryl was graduating and we had to, and one of them was Sam's neice, Cecilia Saddleback, you know she's Cecilia Wildcat, and the other one is Dola Buffalo and that other girl, you know from Calling Lake, Mrs. Margaret Saddleback, the wife of Lawrence Saddleback, and this fall Jerry Saddleback and Walter Lightning, and they are both teaching at the school now, and Yvonne Buffalo, they will graduate, so you know that's the story of Muskwackees College. It did bring a great impact, you know into the community.

JOHNSON

I see they have the taping rooms and video cameras and dubbing, and editing equipment.

WILDCAT

Did they show you some of the tapes and movies?

JOHNSON

No, I didn't get a chance, other than to note the physical layout.

WILDCAT

Maybe another day maybe you should come and watch that.

JOHNSON

But the one thing I can say about the college is that when you go in there you know you're in a cultural centre and that it's alive it's not dead, like 300 years ago. It's really incredible. But its strapped for cash and a single person layout.

WILDCAT

Yeh exactly, and maybe as I say at the classroom level in contrast with the college here, we are using the wrong terms, in presenting the cultural content. It should be to not wear feathers, it should be to appreciate it, and identify, you know, like other people. Like the French, the Ukranians, the Scottish, English, you know, name them. Those groups all have their regalia and whatever you want to call it - I think that's the difference, maybe we should we should explain this to the children.

JOHNSON

Have you read the books some of the natives have written that comment on leadership? "Prison of Grass" or "Halfbreed"?

WILDCAT

Yeh I did, I think she explains it well too. What is her name?

JOHNSON

Maria Campbell, wrote "Halfbreed" in 1975.

Doug Cardinal was telling me that there is a book "Wall of Words"

that I should read it before I complete my thesis, it had something to say about leadership.

WILDCAT

And Dan George too, I think that maybe you should read some of his writings and poetry. I don't know he always hits it on the nail you know, Chief Dan George, he, its, some of his stories are so touching, I am trying to remember. He understands Indianness through and through, and yet he doesn't want to totally blame the white man but, I don't know, it's so touching what he says.

JOHNSON

And then he always has a little irony invading his statements.

WILDCAT

Yeh, exactly, and so with leadership too. At this meeting someone said you make the leaders the way they are. We the community, the people, maybe if we went to them, not so much to pressure them but like we said the other you are the candidate why do you run, what is it you will do for me, you know, maybe we should ask the leaders, you know, in a good way.

JOHNSON

Are you suggesting that people at meetings articulate it to the would be leaders these are the things that we are having concern about. So what can you do to assist us with it? If movement towards progress came from the bottom towards the top?

WILDCAT

Yeh, exactly.

JOHNSON

So there's a rising kind of an awareness of expectations beginning to come forward from the people at those meetings of bands and committees? Are they asking the leaders to be accountable to them?

WILDCAT

I think so, someone one said in that audience or the ones that were talking, I forget now, it was said by people in this pre-election meeting, it's the members too that make the leaders the way they are. It's not just blaming the leaders, you know, its us here in the community because we never say "well, why is it you do that", you know. Maybe we don't go often enough, you know, in the proper manner. I said to the people its not only the times we drink and feel good and mad and frustrated we go racing down the hallway in the administration building and carry the people down because really the people that are administrating, they are not the people that are holding the reins of government. Really those people are just hired, what can they do really, they can't do anything. We should go at the right moment when we have our full senses when we could think, when we are not drunk and say to the chief and the council, here I am not happy with this. Could you correct it, how could you better it. We don't do that, and maybe that's what people have to learn, you know, in order to produce better leaders. But I think it's coming. Like at this meeting, Willie Littlechild was present there and Tony, that's the fellow that helps me, he's the assistant

economic development director, Tony said me "Let's ask him to help us with this meeting", so I said to him, "I will ask Willie to evaluate this meeting". He will sit here and he will listen was goes on and then after I will ask him to come in front and talk to the people. So that's what happened and Willie came in front and he said in Cree " _____". Maybe you could almost understand what I am saying because one word you understand. You see he came in there and said "Are we are not acting like white people now", or maybe we are acting like white people, because this is not the Indian way. And right away the people heard that and they started to laugh, and he said "I don't think so, I see what is happening, people are looking in front, they want a change, this is progress". That's the word that he used, it's progress, and then he went on, you know, to say well, well someone said "In here why do the council sit there, it's because they have many relatives, that's why they sit there, not because they have brains or they are smart, but because they have many relatives". But he said it's not only this community, it happens all the time, so we are people that's what it is.

JOHNSON

So your meeting ended on a very hopeful note and a good deal of laughter at yourselves.

WILDCAT

Yeh but more will come out of it, and I talked with the chief this morning, Morris Wolfe and I said, "We would like to come to the next council meeting, Tony and myself to explain what happened at this meeting", I said, nothing out of order happened, it was a good meeting,

the people want more of this. So he said fine.